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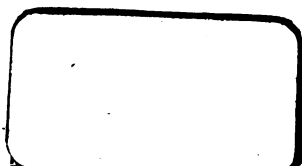
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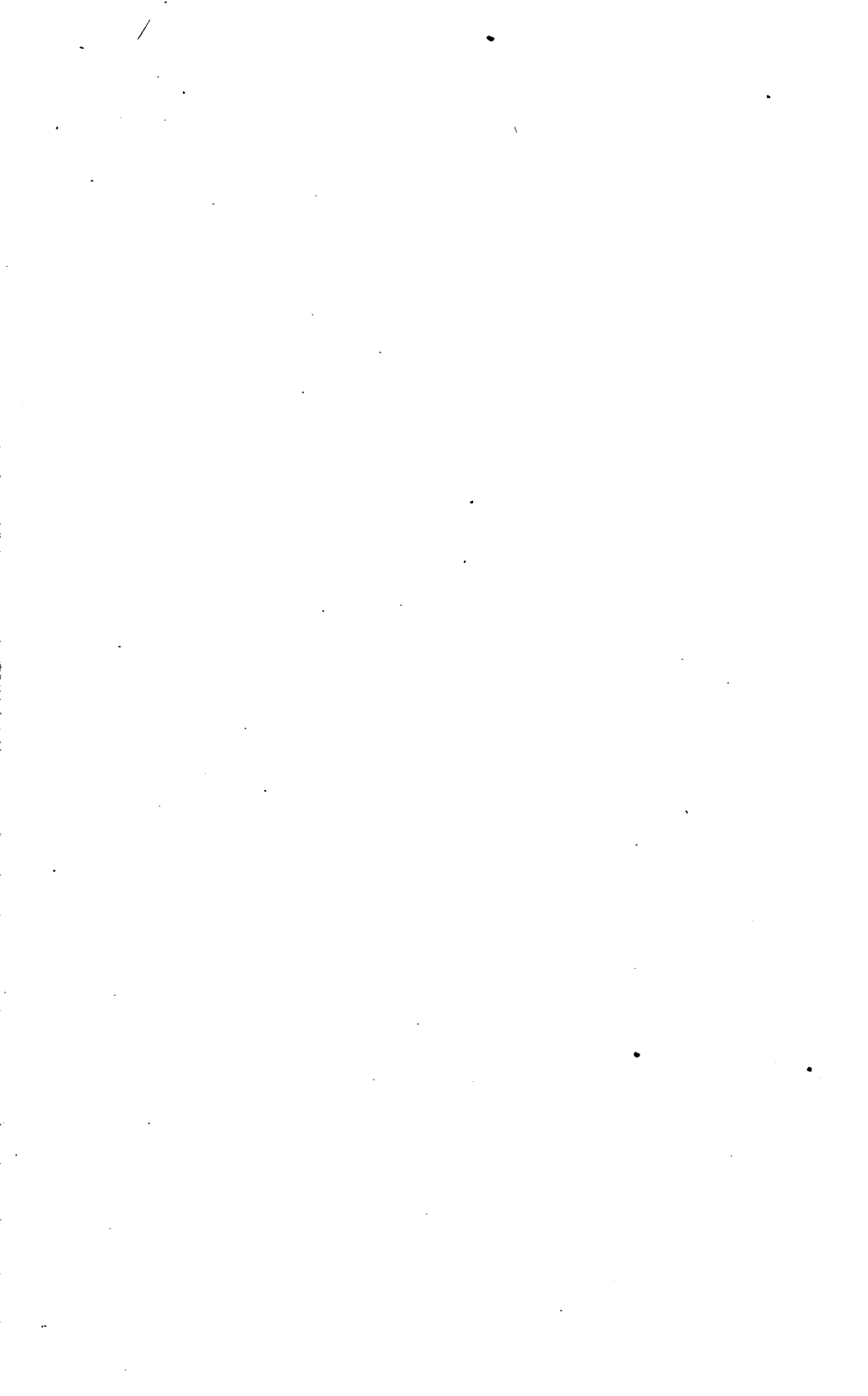
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LIVES
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IRISHMEN,
FROM
THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT PERIOD,
ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER,
AND EMBODYING A
HISTORY OF IRELAND IN THE LIVES OF IRISHMEN.

EDITED BY
JAMES WILLS, A.M.T.C.D., M.R.I.A.,
Author of *Letters on the Philosophy of Unbelief, &c., &c., &c.*

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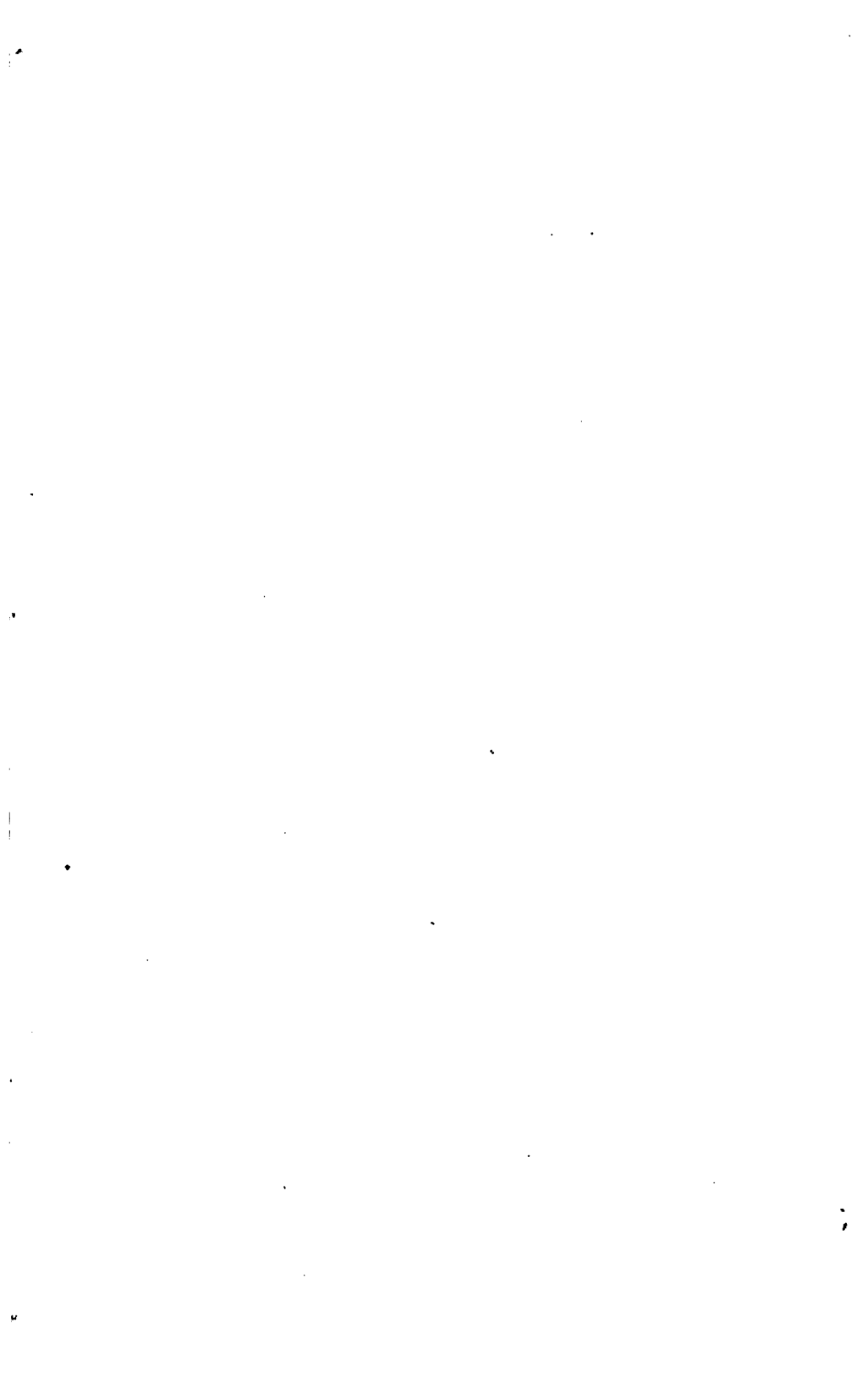
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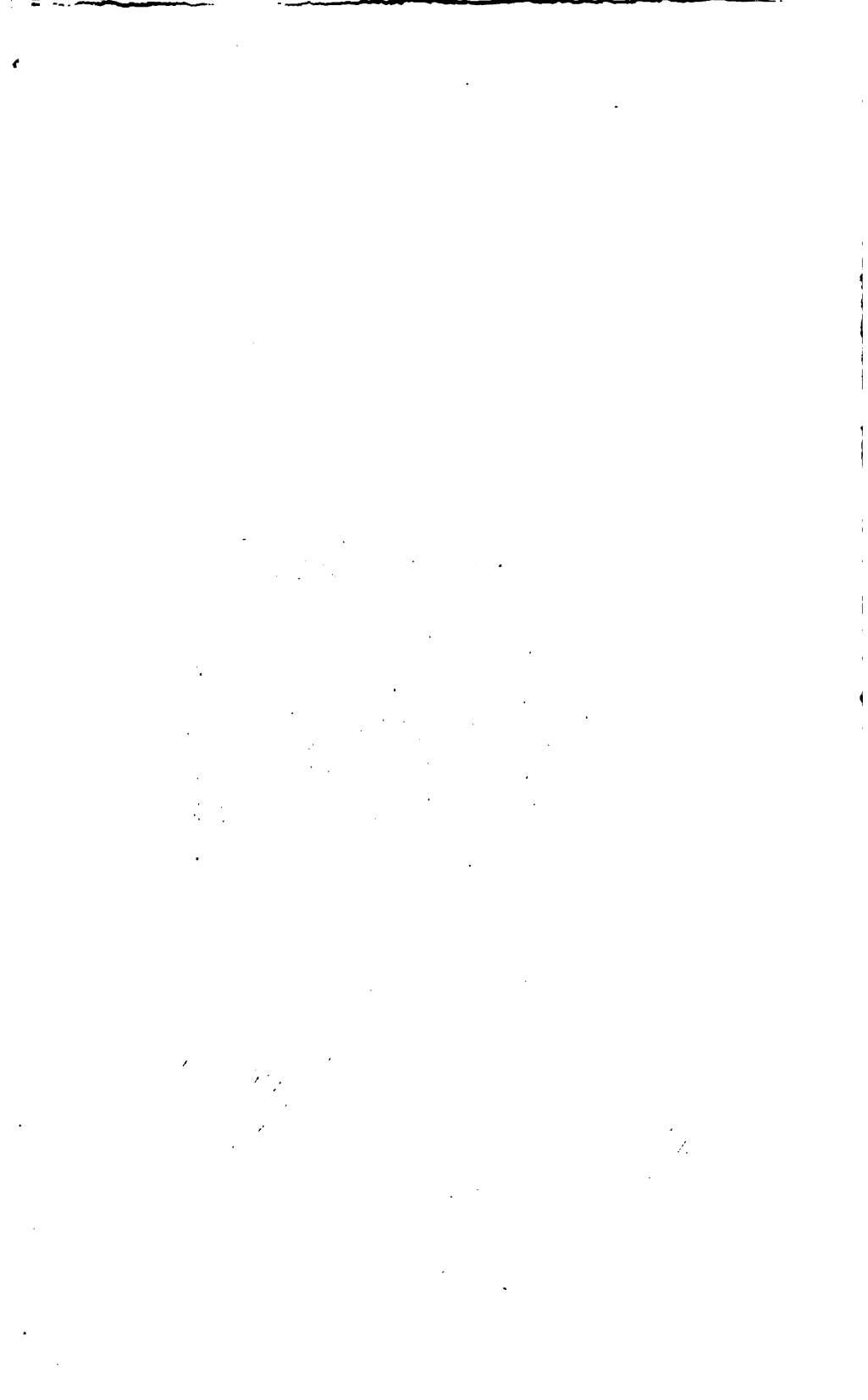
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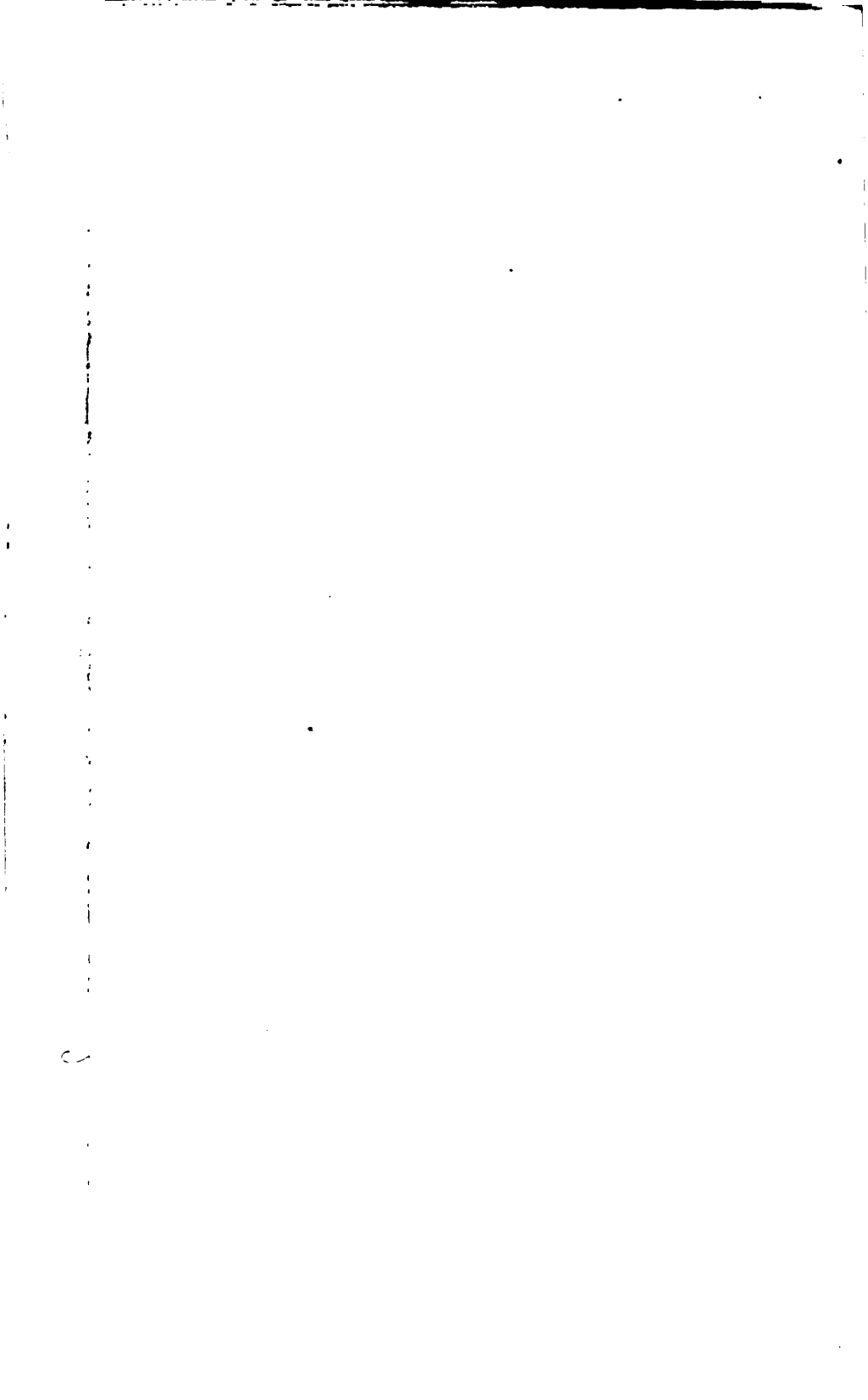


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LIVES

OF

ILLUSTRIOUS AND DISTINGUISHED IRISHMEN.

Sir Richard Cox.

BORN A.D. 1650—DIED A.D. 1733.

At the commencement of a new volume, we feel that it may not be without its uses to remind our readers, of a fact already noticed briefly in one of the concluding memoirs appertaining to the wars of the revolution in 1689, that the remainder of the period in which we are engaged, contains little material for the biographer. In the more enlarged view of history, it offers as little to the contemplation of the historian. And as the great importance of the subsequent divisions of this work, and the limits to which we are pledged, demand some economy of our space and time, it will be necessary that we should pass through this comparatively barren and unprogressive period of our history with proportionable succinctness and speed. It is true that this very chasm in the progress of events, and in the succession of persons and characters of interest, would seem to demand much comment, and to challenge our best faculties of inquiry or explanation; but the commentary may, for the most part, be found in the events of the time. Much valuable matter we shall endeavour to reserve for occasions of far more attractive interest, while we endeavour, for the present, to select a few names of sufficient general interest, for the purpose of concluding this long and not uneventful division of the political history of Ireland. To this more summary course, we are here the more induced, because in the course of some of the most important and interesting memoirs, which must occupy the chief ground in the ecclesiastical, and still more in the literary divisions of the same period, it will become absolutely necessary to enter into many details of the political history of the very period which we are now to pass with slighter notice. Of this we may offer as an example the life of Swift, of which an interesting portion is connected with the politics of Ireland in his time.

Here, therefore, a few brief remarks as to the character of this residual period, and the cause of its general want of real historic in-

terest, may be enough. We have already explained the manner in which the individual celebrity of the persons whom it has been hitherto our task to notice, has arisen in a greater degree from the station which it was their fortune to occupy in the political scene, than to any of the ordinary causes which entitle illustrious characters to historic notice. As, however, the course of events became more quiet, uniform, and unmarked by violent and stormy changes, it was an evident consequence that the number and individual prominence of such subjects should also diminish in the same proportion. Hence it is, that in the long interval of political torpor, from the treaty of Limerick, through the reigns of Anne and the first two Georges—the remainder of this division—our political persons are comparatively without note. Such is the ground upon which we conceive it expedient to adopt the course which we have described, by selecting a few names, rather with a view to offer a brief outline of the history of their time, than to protract our labour, without interest to the reader, by a dull array of obscure politicians, and official persons.

We should, indeed, most willingly have avoided entering upon even the most cursory notice of the principal questions which offer themselves in the political history of the period now to occupy our attention; for the time when they may be discussed with historic indifference, is hardly yet arrived. Though dull and barren of great or striking events, the period immediately following the revolution was troubled by party dissensions which, to the impartial mind, are painful to contemplate; and to the prepossessions of party feeling, are identified with the fierce and clamorous questions by which the existing generation is possessed. Like every period of our history, the reign of Queen Anne has, with few exceptions, been too largely seen through the coloured media of party feeling, and the rhetorical exaggerations and artifices of those who have repeated their illusory statements until they have believed them. To this unhappily large class of writers and speakers, and to the still larger classes who draw their entire stock of historic opinion from them, the whole history of Ireland is so discoloured by fallacy and passionate prejudice, that no candour can come up to the measure of their exactions, and no concession short of a surrender of truth and reason can satisfy their expectations. The very intent of history is overlooked; and many readers, of the most respectable character and intelligence in other matters, do not scruple openly to demand from the historian some evidence of national, or rather party feeling. Now, for the general good sense, and even for the zealous nationality of such readers, we are quite sincere in professing our respect and regard; but we must here again (as we have often done) remind them, that the office of the historian is as strictly judicial as that of the judge; and that it is his duty, and indeed the most difficult and responsible portion of his task, to exclude all nationality, and all the predilections of sect and party from his mind. The prepossessions from which, as an individual, he cannot be exempt, the inclination to favour the policy or creed which claims his support, and the natural repugnance of the independent spirit to concede any thing to violence, or even for a moment to seem to echo the clamour of popular turbu-

lence; all these must be suppressed by the historian who desires to proceed in the discharge of an office, before the tribunal of which prince and peasant must stand in the strict level of unbiassed equity, and parties of every denomination be viewed as nothing more than inflamed aggregations of human passion and opinion, driving like the clouds before the wind that bears along the fate of nations to the event destined by a higher will.

So far as the character of our own labours is concerned, we may unhesitatingly affirm, that, however, to the more intelligent discernment of critical estimation, we may be found deficient in many of the endowments, acquired or natural, which our present employment may require, we have been scrupulously and anxiously true to the principle of impartial truth. We are far from setting up the absurd claim to be held exempt from the charge of error; but we may boldly insist on being allowed to have preserved the utmost indifference to the requisitions of party feeling on either side. The great and prominent parties into which Ireland has been for many ages unhappily divided, we have viewed, and shall continue to view, as men having by nature the same merits and demerits, placed in different situations and circumstances, and in each, acting with that mixture of crime and virtue, wisdom and folly, knowledge and ignorance, which belongs to the human character. Whatever may be their creed, or nation, or party, the mass of mankind is swayed by impulses and motives of no very high order. And, in accordance with this fact, we think it quite absurd for any party of the present day to insist upon the immaculate virtue of its political ancestry. The practical machinery of states always has been, and will be liable to be worked (in detail at least) by officials of no very extended views of public good, and chiefly actuated by the selfish impulses which are mostly uppermost in the mind of man. For this reason it is, that in troubled and barbarous eras, whatever may be the essential character of the ruling party, there must be a large mixture of injustice, crime, and malversation, found in the sinks and under-channels of official agency. The partisan of either side will always find ample matter for complaint and recrimination without departing from truth, further than is involved in one-sided statements.

But after the worst shall have been said on either side, or on both, it is worth the reader's while to recollect, and keep in view, that after all no material question is decided. Thus, when we have strongly sketched out the excesses and horrors of the barbarous followers of Sir Phelim O'Neile—the flagrant tyrannies and malversations of the government agents and officials which prolonged and aggravated this wretched state of things;—when we have painted freely the stormy disaffection of the chiefs—the more politic intrigues of the ecclesiastics which succeeded—the treachery of Tyrconnel—the fatal bigotry of James—or, lastly, when we lament the subsequent sufferings of the Irish papists, (the natural consequence of these,) during the succeeding reigns: throughout the whole of these statements, the great leading questions, at the present day agitated between the same parties, remain unaffected by anything we have thought proper to say. The principles of the churches of England and Rome do not enter into our

scope; the conduct of their respective supporters must be referred to other conditions, so far as any question of right or wrong, merit or demerit, is involved. According to the several views of the advocates for either church, their conduct is to be weighed in the moral scale; their pretensions are to be referred to their respective credentials; it is no part of our undertaking to decide between them. But there is also a political estimate, which cannot, in the same degree, be eliminated from these pages. According to this, it has been often our task, at the same time, to defend the general policy of the English government, and to reprobate the entire spirit and practice of its practical application. To this fact, we are anxious more especially to invite the reader's notice; for in Irish history, it claims the place of a principle, and its due admission would save much misapprehension. We have now to apply it to the reigns chiefly to pass before us, before we conclude this series.

The reigns of queen Anne and her next immediate successors, are rendered memorable in Irish history by the extreme and severe depression of the members of the Romish communion. A deepening array of oppressive, and nearly intolerable exactments, rendered their condition such as cannot now be contemplated by humane minds of any creed without pity. The penal laws, which we shall hereafter detail, are, by the more sanguine spirits of one side, looked upon as excused by justice and expediency; by their fiery opponents as unattonable wrongs. The truth is far within these extremes; and because it is an instructive truth, we thus place it at the commencement of the first of those few remaining sketches, in which we propose to comprise the history of a period, marked by the obscure commencement of a state of things, which pre-eminently exacts the utmost precaution to steer clear of the prejudiced politics of two great opposite parties, to both of which, the entire history of this island appears through the dust and vapour of protracted and violent contention.

The fury of the stubborn and sanguinary contests which we have detailed in our last previous volume, was followed by that reaction which is the inevitable result of every extreme vibration in the balance of human affairs. Popular violence was followed by that prostration of strength, which was its proper and immediate consequence. The restoration of the powers of civil control, and the re-establishment of municipal jurisdictions and authorities, was attended with disadvantages which we are obliged to separate, carefully and precisely, from all the common accusations which mere party warfare has devised, in opposition to these jurisdictions and authorities. In conceding facts, which the violence of faction has converted into weapons of offence on either side, it becomes more especially needful to guard against mistakes. When we admit and lament the severity with which the Papal party in Ireland was coerced, we must admit the strong apparent necessity of that coercion. While we admit that it led to unhappy consequences, and to much injustice and oppression, it is necessary to deny that those consequences lay within the scope of human wisdom to foresee, or that the injustice was designed. Nor can we omit to observe, that in the due appreciation of these, or any other

precautionary measures, it would be essential to weigh the full consequences of their neglect; and it should be maturely considered, whether the sufferings and calamities of Ireland were, or were not, far greater before than after these measures; whether the wasting disease of centuries had not been a protracted struggle between two great classes; in which, if neither could be expected to submit, it was nevertheless evident that the submission of either was necessary to civil order. And if the question of *which* is thus once raised, it becomes evident that the *actually* ruling power was fully justified in enforcing the essential submission to the existing order of things, by all necessary means. The general enactments were the result of a harsh necessity of the times; their occasional abuse, the work of those private agencies to which such times have ever given birth. Let us look on a few of the facts which lay before the wisdom of that age: the whole would here demand too wide a scope. The long and earnest under-currents of intrigue, by which, in pursuance of conscientious opinions, it was sought to establish the Papal power in Ireland, at last broke out into a struggle, in which, for some terrible years, the Protestant party suffered all the extremities and hardships in a tenfold degree, of which their political opponents had afterwards reason to complain. At the close of this dreadful crisis, (for such it was,) some facts were strongly impressed on the mind of the predominant party. The great leading object of the pleaders of the popular side, namely, the establishment of a foreign supremacy, actually *political* in its nature, within the kingdom, was clearly and incontrovertibly inconsistent with the first principles of government; this alone, in the *then* existing state of the Papal power, fully authorized all necessary constraints and disabilities of those who acknowledged a power so unconstitutional.* This real and rightful principle was enforced by others of more doubtful validity: it was the sense of those who had escaped with life and fortune from the oppression of James and his unprincipled minion Tyrconnel, that safety was only to be found in the possession of an iron system of control. Resentment and prejudice, which neither party is entitled to impute as reproach to the other, did their work, and more than their work, for a time. But it is here only just to observe, that these unhappy results of national strife can hardly be imputed to the better classes of the gentry and aristocracy, in whose continued kindness and sym-

* It is our study to separate to the utmost our statements from all consideration of the politics of the present time. But so nearly do they seem to approach, that, if our space allowed, we should desire to show wherein they are different. This we cannot here effect satisfactorily. But there is a principle of judgment which we would here suggest to both parties—who each in their own way look too much to the past. The result of a violent party struggle, of which, principles far more wide than those of the beginning of the 18th century have been the main elements, has been a high inflammation of all the natural feelings of party-warfare. The *excitement itself* constitutes a larger portion of the disorder of the times than is generally allowed, and gives to all the popular impulses a great part of their force and venom. Complaints, once the cause, are now but the missiles of a revolutionary conflict. But the full demonstration and development of this neglected fact would demand a separate volume. It is here enough for the writer to say, that his statements are, in his own political theory, wholly distinct from the *real* questions of public writers of the day.

pathy, the severities of the law, and the interested persecutions of hungry officials, found their only, but effective, restraint and alleviation.

Of these preliminary reflections, the attentive readers of the memoirs which remain to complete this period, will see the necessity. The character of the time which it includes is so widely different from that which has hitherto occupied our care, that it should have formed a distinct division, but for the barrenness of character and event, which rendered it inexpedient to incur the disadvantages of a formal and cumbrous separation of its more scanty and less interesting matter from the general course of our history. The change of political character, though great and obvious, presents little for the biographer; and to give it consistence sufficient to warrant the formal introduction which the plan of this work assigns to each of its separate periods, we should be compelled to notice names which have no pretension to a place in the record of history, or to pursue the memorial of secondary characters and events to an inordinate length.

Having premised this brief statement, we shall feel ourselves, for the remainder of this period, warranted to proceed with that brevity of statement which our general limits demand.

Sir Richard Cox is one of the few eminent persons belonging to the period before us, whose rise in the state was independent of the fortune of wars and revolutions, or the accidents of birth. He was a man whose high moral and intellectual endowments, would in any age, under circumstances not peculiarly unfavourable, have attained the highest civil distinctions. He has equal pretensions to a place among our political and literary heroes; but we are now reduced to the necessity of continuing our political history under such names as may be found not inappropriate. He was born in Bandon, in the year 1650. His father was a captain of horse, and died while his son was yet but three years old; he was, in consequence, transferred to the care of his maternal grandfather. This gentleman having also died in a few years, the charge appears to have devolved to his son, Mr John Bird, of Clonakilty. By his care, young Cox received the first rudiments of education, at a grammar-school in Clonakilty. Here, it is said, he showed strong indications of that industry and talent which afterwards became the foundation of his success in life. His taste for the practice of the law was developed, perhaps, by the accident of his uncle holding the office of Seneschal in the manorial courts, under the appointment of one of the Boyle family. In this obscure court, young Cox began to practise as an attorney, in his eighteenth year; and, as a matter of course, his practice soon extended to the other court of session held by the civil authorities of that old borough, from which, until the Union, the earls of Shannon returned two members to parliament. The practice of these minor courts was (and is) such as to demand no very extended acquaintance with the law, and in the narrow range of cases which fell under their jurisdiction, a considerable discretion was assumed or vested in the officers. Such, indeed, is one of the abuses still partially existing in the present day in the few manorial courts which remain, the refuge of petty tyranny and insubordination, and the disgrace of the legislature. In these courts the line

of demarcation between the practice of the attorney and the advocate was but indistinct; and here, in the advocacy of such petty cases as demanded little more than a shrewd common sense, and a ready tongue, and the knowledge of the rules and equities of the petty dealings of a little obscure seaport, the forensic propensities of this eminent lawyer were developed and confirmed; though, we may presume, little instructed.

Such a range could not long continue to confine the ambition of a mind so alert and industrious. Finding his means sufficient, Cox entered his name, in 1661, as a law student, in Gray's Inn. Here his superior intelligence soon raised him into notice; and having completed his terms, and the course of legal attainment then considered necessary, he returned to his native country, and soon after contracted a marriage with a lady, who had, or was reputed to have, rights to a large property. For a young legal aspirant, a lawsuit seems to have been no inappropriate fortune; but he was destined to be less fortunate as a suitor than as a servant of the law, and failed in making good the claims of his wife. The circumstance appears to have given for some years an unfavourable turn to his views in life: his spirits may have been depressed by feeling himself hopelessly involved in a poor connexion, at a period of life which most demands the exertion of free and unencumbered powers. It is still more likely that his funds were exhausted, and that residence in town was become no longer practicable. He returned to Clonakilty, where he took a farm, and sunk gradually into that kind of indolence of pursuit, to which persons of intellectual temper are most liable, when deprived of their congenial and proper excitement in the atmosphere of ambition or studious conversation.

But while his talents lay unemployed, and the native impulses of his mind stood still, the progress of time was marked by the increase of his family. His lady, whose promise of wealth had dissolved into an unsubstantial disappointment, was fortunate in the production of a numerous gradation of youthful mouths, which demanded to be fed; and Richard Cox was roused from the quiet ease of his farm, to the anxious consideration of the ways and means of life.

By the kindness of Sir Robert Southwell, he was quickly restored to the high road of advancement. In 1685, being then in his thirtieth year, he was elected recorder of Kinsale, and removed with his young family to Cork, where he entered at once on the practice of his profession, with rapid and honourable success.

His professional progress was destined to be retarded by interruptions, which were afterwards in no small degree instrumental to his rise. He had attained considerable practice, when his natural sagacity enabled him to perceive the approach of that reverse to the protestant interests in Ireland, which we have already so fully traced in a former memoir. The succession of James II. to the throne was the commencement of a strenuous effort to restore the supremacy of the two kingdoms to the Pope; and though the settled principles, and advanced political maturity of England, made it necessary to proceed with a cautious and underhand progress; in Ireland, where very opposite conditions prevailed, the real intentions of the court were not to

be overlooked by any person of ordinary observation. In Ireland, the mass of the aristocracy, as well as of the commercial interests, were protestant, and the civil authorities and legal constitution had that conformity which such a predominance of interest demanded in that age. But the peasantry were of the communion of the church of Rome; and they had now, since the days of James I., been governed by their priesthood—a body of men against whom it is no accusation to say, that their whole political morality was then centred in an earnest and conscientious principle of devotion to the Roman See. To this statement is to be added, that there was a large intermixture of persons and families of broken fortune, from varied causes, who were of the popular persuasion, and who had never relinquished the prospect of a reinstatement in possessions, which justice, the fortune of war, or the vicissitudes of fortune, and the advance of commercial wealth, had long transferred into other hands. With such elements smouldering under the recollections of 1641, and though hidden by the ashes of a generation scarcely extinct, it needed no deep insight to perceive what was to be the effect of a new struggle, in which these elements of wreck and ruin were to be blown by the breath of royal power and influence. To calculate on the same reaction in favour of right and justice, was not beyond the compass of reason; but far too unsatisfactory and uncertain for the fears of the boldest, who, like Cox, looked practically on the course of events. He relinquished his advantages, and sacrificing a present income of £300 a-year, removed for security with his family to Bristol.

He had, however, by that time, fortunately attained considerable reputation as a sound lawyer and able advocate, and being well known, he was not long destitute of business, but contrived to obtain an income competent to the support of his family, which consisted of a wife and five children. It was during this interval that he compiled the greater part of his known historical work, entitled "*Hibernia Anglicana*," often referred to in these memoirs.

Thus engaged, Cox continued at Bristol till the landing of the prince of Orange in England. On this event, while all was yet doubt, embarrassment, and the confused clamour of party, he hastened to London, and took a decided, and, we believe, not ineffectual part, in favour of the revolution. He published a pamphlet, in which he insisted on the necessity of giving the crown to William, and of sending relief to Ireland. His merits were at once recognised, or his patrons were at least efficient in recommending them. He was made under-secretary of state; and soon after accompanied Sir Robert Southwell, as secretary, to Ireland. His eminent sagacity, and extensive acquirements, here became so conspicuous, that he rose in the royal regard with rapidity; and when Waterford was surrendered, he was at once appointed recorder to that city. This was but a step to further elevation; and few months elapsed when he was raised to the bench, as one of the justices of the common pleas, on the 13th of September, 1690.

At this period of our history, the several functions of administration had not yet received the separate and ascertained character which belongs to mature forms and states of government. There was a necessary indistinctness in the limits of the different departments; the restrictions of civil form and professional privilege were comparatively

slight. The circumstance was at least favourable to talent: the person whose skill, superior efficiency, knowledge, moral virtues, or perhaps vices, raised him to rank or station, seldom failed to obtain employment, and to be raised to authority, in whatever department his inclination prompted him to look for promotion, or his capability recommended him. Cox, who in addition to considerable acquirements in general and professional knowledge, possessed an active temper and great practical sagacity, was thus prepared to catch to the utmost every gale of favour and preferment. He had been hardly raised to a rank which would now be considered to demand the full devotion of the entire available industry of the most competent lawyer, when he obtained a promotion of equal importance, which must have exacted equal activity and confidence in a different department, having, in about half a-year from the date of his judicial appointment, been made military governor of Cork.

For this latter station Cox was eminently fitted; at least if regard be had to the time. His firm temper of mind and sagacious understanding communicated to his entire conduct that decided and unbending line of duty which the condition of that province demanded; while a stern and high-minded integrity obtained for him the respect of those who had any regard for such qualities, and ensured him the cordial support of those who were the immediate witnesses of his actions, and whose support was most needful. But, as inevitably must happen, and always has happened, in the struggles of Ireland,—where the inveteracy of party feeling renders men incapable of estimating human actions on any general ground of obligation,—his conduct in this station has been loudly arraigned for the extreme rigour which he was compelled to have recourse to. Writers who have discussed the confused politics of that period have too much suffered their understanding and temper to be absorbed in its spirit, not only entering with an undue warmth into the passions of the parties, but absolutely putting on their colours, ranging under their banners, and seeing through the medium of their prejudices. But after having witnessed the flagrant realities of the long and calamitous struggle of the revolution, and seen the actual and fearful effects of an universal relaxation of all the bonds of order, he was too well taught, that tranquillity, general security, and the peaceable progress of social improvement and civilization, were only to be obtained by the powerful and summary suppression of turbulent spirits,—only to be secured by the rough and stern hand of force. It is always easy for those whose habits of mind have been warped by perpetual advocacy, and who are engaged in the partial endeavour to justify and palliate every act of the side they espouse, to persuade themselves to such an extent, in favour of fallacies which are habitually diffused throughout the very texture of their intellects; as to imagine, that while the popular mind was in a state of unnatural excitement, their leaders still alert to seize occasion, while the hope of returning confusion made men ready to defy the law, and a generation trained to crime and insubordination, was, like suppressed fire, ever starting at every air-hole,—to imagine that they were to be held in peaceable and orderly subjection by the calm and tempered routine of balanced equity and justice. Popular excitement, never at any time grounded on the

dictates of political wisdom or justice, never was, or will be calmed by the appeal to reason, or satisfied in any way but by an unreserved triumph; unless when reason and justice are fortunately sanctioned and enforced by such means as alone can be felt or comprehended by untrained intellects and undisciplined passions. But in that uncivilized generation, the salvation of the land depended entirely on a timely and vigorous application of the only resource which their moral and intellectual condition permitted to be even understood; and we therefore consider it to the praise of Cox, that he availed himself effectually of those means. During his government in the county of Cork, though the frontier of his province extended eighty miles, with twenty garrisons under his charge, he continued to preserve order, unknown elsewhere, and never allowed the Jacobites to gain an inch of ground.

We may mention one instance of firmness and vigorous promptitude, which happened in this period of his life, the political history of which we have sufficiently detailed. De Ginckle had written to governor Cox to request a thousand of the Cork militia, who, under his superintendence, are said to have arrived at a very high state of military discipline, though the fact does not appear from the following anecdote. Of the required force all had already marched but 160 men, who positively refused to stir from their country. The colonel, after a vain resort to every means of persuasion, repaired to Cox, who declared that he would soon make them march. Surrounded by a party of gentlemen and officers, he rode up to them, and in a commanding and firm tone, asked why they were not on their march. One of them stood forth, and began to reply; the governor interrupted and addressed them in a few words, in which he asserted his power over them; but added, that as he did not desire the company of cowards, he would not use it;—he said, that he was sure there were among them some who were not afraid to fight for a king and country they loved, and that such would follow him; the rest might return to their homes." They all felt, and answered the appeal to their pride by immediate submission to order.

His able and spirited discharge of duties, so apparently foreign from his previous habits, obtained for Cox great and universal reputation. His commission and the scope of his government were considerably enlarged; and he continued to display a degree of active prudence, and decision of conduct, which effected the happiest results. He not only received the thanks of the English government, for the successful vigilance by which he preserved the public tranquillity in Ireland, but also the warmest expressions of gratitude from the numerous persons whose property he saved from devastation and pillage. As the enlargement of his jurisdiction had been occasioned by the fear of a French invasion, he was under the necessity of taking some precautions, which were, in the then state of Ireland, indispensably necessary, but calculated to cast some unpopularity on his character: the disarming the papists was, nevertheless, effected with a mild forbearance, and a regard to circumstances, not often to be met in the history of the country. He carried this harsh necessity into effect without irritating those who were its object, or bringing them into suspicion; and, using a sane and temperate discretion, he managed to limit the

measure to the real urgency of the supposed danger, and to avoid leaving respectable persons, from whom nothing was to be really apprehended, in a defenceless condition. The threat of invasion was, however, soon dispelled, by the defeat of the French fleet at La Hogue, in May.

In the same year, 1692, after having gone the summer circuit in the southern districts, with judge Reynel, he returned to Dublin; where, on the 5th of November, he was knighted by the lord Sidney, at that time lord-lieutenant of the kingdom.

In 1693, he was elected as a member of the Philosophical Society, which, about ten years before, had been founded by the exertions of the well-known William Molyneux, who was then more known as a philosopher than he has subsequently become as the author of a political pamphlet, which must be presently noticed in these pages. On this occasion, he read an essay containing his geographical account of the counties of Derry and Antrim. In the same year, he paid a visit to England, where he met with cordial attention and favour, from lord-treasurer Godolphin, and the other ministers of government. On this occasion he obtained an order from the treasury for the abatement of one half of his quitrent. He was also appointed on the commission for Irish forfeitures, with a salary of £900 a-year. This honourable testimony to his talent, and the known high integrity of his character, had the undesirable consequence of plunging him more immediately within the vortex of cabal and factious clamour, which had been the distinguishing affliction of Ireland at all times, but never more conspicuously than at that period. As we have observed at the commencement of this memoir, those acrimonious dissensions which have never since allowed any intermission for the progress of national prosperity were in their beginning; and it was impossible to be actively connected with either of the two great factions, which filled the great arena of contention, jobbing, disaffection, falsehood and misrepresentation, injustice and crime, without being soon vilified by the tongue of one or both sides, as the part taken was subservient to either, or honestly independent of both. And if there ever has been a moment when a dignified separation from the practices of every party, or set of men, was essential to upright and sound principles of conduct, it was then; when we feel it necessary to admit, after a careful perusal of the inflamed statements of the historical advocates of either side, their accusations, and the angry recriminations of both, are substantially correct.

The progress of national prosperity—of agriculture, trade, and manners, were forcibly interrupted by the great political convulsion consequent on the crime and infatuation of king James; and as has but too continually and peculiarly been the misfortune of this island, those peaceful processes, which constitute the national order and secure the means of national advance, were broken, and for a period destroyed. The contest for the maintenance or recovery of real or imaginary rights;—the revenge of fancied wrongs;—the violent precautions against real but exaggerated dangers;—the intrigues for power or property which an unsettled state of things must ever induce and favour;—the discouragement to commercial in-

vestment from the insecurity of property, and the inadequate protection of law;—and the advantage which rival nationality or corporate feeling will be always ready to take of such a disorganized state of things, all operated to depress and degrade the Irish nation. The people who are enfeebled and degraded by internal hate and dissension—as well as by vain contention against a dominant power, even if the claims of resistance should be dignified by right, will meet small if any allowance in that vast collision of human interests, out of which order and light arise by a law different from that which the patriot in his zeal, which is seldom according to knowledge, or the theorist in his wide and wild, yet insufficient scope of speculation, is ever led to contemplate. This island, with all its great national advantages, had been so kept back by a hapless alternation of violent civil wars, and the stagnant calms which followed—that in the end of the seventeenth century her connexion with England, which should, according to the natural law of social workings, have been productive of an increase of national prosperity, was on the other hand too unequal to be advantageous. The diffusion of equality, which is the progressive result of natural underworkings, and not of voluntary concession, was from time to time sought to be extorted by demands which never have been or will be successful, being grounded in mistake; and the existing state of depression naturally presented itself as the basis of English policy. To avoid generalizing beyond the scope of this memoir, Ireland was in a condition which impeded those operations of settlement and commerce, that lead to prosperity, which invited the fatal proceedings of the political adventurer, and sanctioned the policy according to which her interests were made secondary to those of England.

So tenacious, and so vital indeed, are the real principles of human progress, that a quiet acquiescence in the domination of England—mortifying as it was to national pride, and frequently injurious to national interests—would have by degrees settled into that quiet onward order of things, which no ordinary interference can prevent, that leads to the true fundamental basis of independence, wealth, and knowledge. We are far—for our own part—from wishing to cast reproach on those, who, finding themselves depressed by law, or by circumstances, were earnestly bent on obtaining that level which is the instinctive moral tendency of human nature: the degree of wisdom or of equity to be claimed from party will, is moderate indeed; it is enough that the claimant is sincere in his error, (supposing it such). But what we would here enforce as the lesson of the time on which we write, is, that these contentious claims were unfortunate: they perpetuated distinctions, prejudices, and animosities, which must have been forgotten and flung aside like foam from the stream of things, had they been let alone. The means which are taken by the multitude to break their imaginary bonds, have ever been the traceable means by which they have been rivetted. Human error never produces its full sum of evil consequence, until it becomes the adopted principle of political faction and party feeling. It is then adopted and kept alive, without any regard to its intrinsic value: the growth of knowledge, the diffusive light of growing civilization, with its concomitant blessings, would distance and purge away the influences of old prejudices

as they grow virtually inconsistent with an advanced order of things; but error becomes enshrined by the popular enthusiasm, when it holds the place of the banner under which the political animosity of each successive age has rallied to a destructive and undying contest.

Such are the reflections awakened by the study of the hapless position of affairs which arose out of the wars of the revolution in Ireland: they are to be illustrated by every fact, which we shall have to state, so far as our statements shall bear any relation to the affairs of the country.

The first ill, resulting from the depression of this country, after the war, was the destruction of trade, which had long been advancing under the protection of an improved internal administration. The entire tissue of commercial interests, with every other interest but that of military license and official malversation, had previously been rent to shreds by the successive inflictions of two great parties, as by turns they rose uppermost in the struggle, and of the fierce collision in the field which crushed them into stillness. Nevertheless, the machinery of progress had been introduced, and received a fixed station in the constitution of affairs; the power, which had put down the struggle, was visibly sufficient to maintain order, and preserve the civil rights of men; and the suspended functions of trade would have quickly regained their condition, if left to the fair and full development of the resources of the country.

In the first ten years from the conclusion of the revolutionary wars, the trading interests of the country appear to have not only regained their level, but to have been advancing with an acceleration unknown in previous instances of national recovery from the effects of internal convulsion. Irish exports experienced a rapid increase from 1696 to 1698, and there was a balance of trade in favour of the country, entirely attributed to the exportation of wool. The commercial jealousy of the English Commons was excited, and the king was compelled to give way to the clamorous expression of discontent; this discontent, when fairly appreciated according to the knowledge of the time, was not quite unreasonable. The consequence was fatal to Ireland; in an evil hour the exportation of woollen manufacture from Ireland was prohibited; the first consequences of this measure appear to have been as deplorable as those of the previous destructive war; the linen trade, which has never thoroughly taken root in Ireland, was not yet established, and the numbers of poor people who lived by the woollen manufacture, were thrown out of bread, while the landed proprietors were impoverished, and a scarcity of money and consequent rise of prices was produced: great multitudes of protestant families were thus also forced to emigrate, which, considering that the advance of the national prosperity altogether depended on the protestant population, was at the time an irreparable mischief. These disastrous consequences are strongly represented in the various resolutions of the Irish parliament immediately following, in which the extreme poverty of the kingdom is pleaded, and redress earnestly sought. This distressing condition continued for many years, as may be seen by any one who desires for detailed information, in the journals of the Commons during the reign of queen Anne. We shall here only add what justice to England demands

from us, that she made the most liberal efforts to repair the mischief in the following reigns, by opening her markets to our linen manufacture, and by large grants of money to the amount of £10,000 per annum for many years, for the encouragement of the exportation of Irish linen. But we shall find occasion to renew the subject further on.

So early as 1690, an address was proposed in the parliament of England, "That the sum of one million be raised, on the credit, or by the sale of the forfeited estates in Ireland, and that an address be presented to his majesty, that he would be pleased to command the commissioners in Ireland to make a return of the names of the persons in rebellion in that kingdom, and of their estates, and the value thereof, and that the same might be transmitted to the House of Commons:" the address was rejected, but it was voted that a bill should be brought in for the attainder of those persons who had been concerned in rebellion in England or Ireland, and for confiscating their estates, and applying the proceeds to the expense of the war then pending with France. When the bill was brought in, about six weeks after, a clause was proposed, empowering the king to grant one third of the forfeited lands to such as had served in the Irish war. This was rejected, and numerous petitions and applications were made in the progress of this bill, from the creditors of some of the persons implicated, and the heirs of many: the house disembarassed itself of the perplexity of meeting such applications, by an inconsiderate rejection of the whole. The lords, naturally less factious, received the bill in a more judicial and equitable spirit, and resolved on paying a due regard to all petitions, and added many conditions and clauses, which were likely to generate opposition and delay. The king sent a message to the commons, which, we cannot but view as injudicious, both as implying unconstitutional concessions of the power of the crown, and also as liable to the misconception which afterwards occurred. He pledged himself to grant none of the land in question, but to reserve the consideration of their disposal for another session. It is a strange instance of the abuse of language, that notwithstanding this assurance, his majesty considered himself only pledged against any gratuitous donation to courtiers or friends, but that he was yet at liberty to consider just claims, and reward those who had served in the Irish war. In the succeeding sessions, the affairs of Ireland, and chiefly with relation to the forfeitures, were brought before the English House of Commons, and many complaints of mismanagement and embezzlement made, which, though probably well-grounded in fact, were mainly factious in their origin. Meanwhile, king William acting on a just sense of what was due to the services of those who had brought the war to a favourable termination, had disposed of a considerable moiety of the land to his generals. He had also attended to the demands of right, and in many cases done justice to the claims of the innocent, and of those who had been unfairly divested of their rights. The Commons, whose factious spirit gave little rest to the king, carried their clamours to a pitch which compelled the outraged monarch to recall his act, after it had additionally involved the difficult and delicate question in new embarrassment, as most of the grantees, im-

pressed with the precarious nature of Irish tenures, sold their grants. De Ginckle received £17,684 for his share, lord Romney £30,147, the earl of Albemarle £73,000, as appeared from subsequent investigations, which we shall presently notice.

In the mean time it was that Cox, as we have mentioned, was appointed on the commission for the management of the forfeited lands. The strict equity with which he resisted an oppressive partiality on one side, and the urgency of menace and corruption on the other, soon drew upon him the clamorous accusations of those by whom the just forfeitures of the recent struggle were looked on as a prey, and the no less dangerous resentment of the leaders of popular feeling. It was no hard matter to raise a powerful set against him, and when every thing was decided by the movements of intrigue, his displacement was a matter of course. One occasion is honourably distinguished, in which an effort was made to seize on the estates of several gentlemen of the county of Galway, in defiance of the articles of the capitulation by which they were secured from forfeiture. Cox insisted with equal truth and force on the manifest injustice of such a violation of a solemn treaty, and to the great discontent of the jobbing pack which formed the executive government in the castle, he saved the Galway gentlemen from losing their estates by an arbitrary order of council. Such an interference with the views of the Irish administration was not to be endured, and he was presently superseded, on the gratuitous pretext, that the council might become a court of judicature, by the presence of so many judges. They covered their real design, by dismissing at the same time another judge, whose abilities were of little weight. But soon after, an effort was made to complete the manœuvre to the destruction of Sir Richard Cox's credit with the king, by a vote that the forfeitures in Ireland were mismanaged. The effort failed, and only served to raise the reputation it was designed to destroy. Sir Richard defended himself against a formidable string of accusations, by statements so full, so well vouched, and so forcibly put forward, that the vote was lost. And to make the vindictive spirit of the whole proceeding more apparent, another method of effecting their purpose was resorted to: the commission was objected to on the ground of economy, which demanded a strict and parsimonious management of the revenue, and the reduction of an expensive establishment. In defence of the private policy by which the official agency of the Irish council was at that time governed in the conduct of affairs, we have little to say. We have both in the outset of this memoir, and throughout this work, taken every occasion to enforce the distinction to be drawn between the general policy of government, or professed principles of public men or parties, and the private motives by which individuals acting in a system necessarily lax and insufficient in control, may have been led to pursue their personal interests at the cost of their public trusts. We do believe, that the occasion of this commission afforded a far surer field for corrupt gain or the iniquitous decisions of private favour or enmity, than for the public advantage of the revenue. The whole transaction was based on complicated impolicy. Of the forfeitures, if we cannot admit that some portion stood upon unjust and impolitic grounds, or in contraven-

tion of the treaties by which the adherents of James who submitted at the period of the treaty of Limerick, were suffered to retain their estates; there was at least a protracted course of vexatious and uncertain proceeding to ascertain the extent of the forfeited possessions, which being placed in the hands of persons who were the objects of fear and prejudice, was calculated to maintain an angry and unsettled spirit through all Ireland. Had the commissioners acted with the most rigid equity, it is evident to every one who understands the processes of popular sentiment, that their conduct could not escape the calumnies to which national prejudice and resentment, roused by infictions and deprivations, would give rise. But the very first origin of the measure involved a most arbitrary and iniquitous usurpation on the part of the English Commons, of a power to which they had no claim. The disposition of the Irish forfeitures was the undoubted right of king William, and the usurpation of this right, an unconstitutional encroachment, was in its very intention factious, and for no purpose in the world but to thwart and embarrass the king. For the liquidation of the expenses of the war, it was so wholly inadequate, that on a distinct return which was afterwards found to have overrated the value of the lands, it was given up. The following are the chief articles of the report, and gives a fair view of the entire merits of the case, so far as the general equity of the proceedings of the commission.

The number of acres in the several counties belonging to the forfeited persons, was 1,060,792 acres. These being worth £211,623 per annum, the full value is computed at £2,685,130.* From this gross value, deductions are made for estates restored to the old proprietors by articles of Limerick and Galway, to the value of £724,923; for those restored by the king to their old possessors, £260,863; after which, with other less important deductions, the amount above stated is reduced to £1,699,343. These few items are extracted from the report of the commission in 1699, when the subject had been for several years embroiled by factions, proceeding from the partial, ignorant, or interested conduct of a commission named by the house of commons to inquire into their value, and the considerations on which they had been granted. The commissioners disagreed as to the statements of their report: the earl of Drogheda and other two gentlemen refused to sign it, on the allegation that in several particulars it was incorrect. They were accused by the popular party of having been gained by the court. The commons, heated by a high spirit of opposition, affected to be strongly impressed with the importance of saving a million and a half for the discharge of the public debts; they bore down all opposition to the report, and resolved to bring in a bill for the application of all the forfeited estates in the land, and all grants of them, from 13th February, 1688, to the use of the public. To carry this into effect, their proceedings were violent and clearly unconstitutional. When the clause which had formerly accompanied the bill was proposed,—that the king should dispose of a third of those lands,—it was replied by the commons, that his grantees had been already so long in possession of the lands, that the rents and profits had amounted to

* Tindal.

a third of the entire value: this assertion was merely a tyrannical stretch of reason. But so far was this arbitrary and illegal spirit carried, as to pass a vote that they would not receive petitions from any person whatever concerning the grants;* but they added to this a resolution, that they would take into consideration the services of their commissioners. They further resolved, that the advising, procuring, and passing these grants, had been the means of great debts to the nation, heavy taxes on the people, and reflected highly on the king's honour; and that the officers and agents employed in effecting them had failed in their duty to the public. By another resolution, this vote was presented to the king in the form of an address. We give the king's answer:—"Gentlemen, I was not only led by inclination, but thought myself obliged in justice to reward those who served well, and particularly in the reduction of Ireland, out of the estates forfeited to me by the rebellion there. The long war in which we were engaged did occasion great taxes, and has left the nation much in debt."

Sir Richard Cox availed himself of the leisure obtained from his dismissal from a troublesome and invidious office, to prosecute some of those numerous pursuits of study and research, with which his active mind was filled. An "Essay for the conversion of the Irish," was among the chief results. He is also said to have composed and presented a memorial upon the bill then pending in the house of lords, to prohibit the exportation of Irish woollen manufactures.

In 1701, the lord chief justice of the common pleas died, and Sir Richard was promoted to his place by the king, immediately after which he obtained a seat in the privy council.

On the death of king William, he was summoned to England by Lord Methuen, to give his advice on Irish affairs, more especially with a view to the measures to be proposed for the consideration of the Irish parliament. The political views of Sir Richard were in most respects enlightened by the union of great natural sagacity, with the most extensive local and practical information. With respect to the remoter effects, and more indirect influence of civil or economical enactments or managements, he participated in the general obscurity of his time. But he had clear views of the enormous disadvantages, and obstacles to improvement and civil progress, then existing in his country,—the barbarism of a large portion of the inhabitants—the political tendency to an alien jurisdiction, consequent upon a difference of churches—the mutual dissensions arising from the same cause—the prejudices in the neighbouring island and in the seat of government, arising from these and other causes—the obstacles and impediments to Irish trade, originating in defective laws and commercial jealousies: with these and such facts strongly impressed on his mind, and a sentiment of patriotism, if not more sincere, certainly more enlightened, than the zeal (not according to knowledge) of those whose national and local passions and prejudices impelled them to redress, or avenge the half-imaginary wrongs of the country, by washing her fields in the blood of endless strife, and perpetuating the evils which they resented, and of which they were themselves mainly the cause; the advice of Sir

* Tindal.

Richard was just, as might be inferred from such knowledge, if referred to the existing state of human opinion, and prudent with regard to the real wants and exigencies of the day. He presented an extensive and clear view of the national resources, local and general; he exposed the political workings among the people and the leaders of popular opinion; the state of trade, with its advantages, and the difficulties to which it was subject. It is also probable that he cautiously laid open the practice of official abuse, which then to a great extent neutralized the beneficent intentions of the government.

Several legislative measures, afterwards passed into law, may be considered as the result of his counsel. Some of these exhibit the fears and cautions which had their foundation in the events of the previous reigns, and marked the entire policy of the day. The fears of popery, as then connected with the claims of rival families to the crown, are exemplified in an act "to prevent popish priests from coming into the kingdom;" an act "to make it high treason in this kingdom (Ireland) to impeach the succession to the crown, as limited by several acts of parliament;" an act "to prevent the further growth of popery;" an act "for registering the popish clergy;" and several others in the same spirit, of which one or two of the preambles will give the most authentic view of the intent and spirit, as well as of the political tendencies of the time. The first-mentioned act commences thus:—"Whereas great numbers of popish bishops, deans, friars, Jesuits, and other regulars of the popish clergy, do daily come into this kingdom from France, Spain, and other foreign parts, under the disguise or pretence of being popish secular priests, with intent to stir up her majesty's popish subjects to rebellion." From this and another act, "for registering the popish clergy," in the same year,* it seems that a distinction was made between the regular and secular priesthood of the church of Rome, the former of whom were viewed by the legislature as purely political in their design and agency, while the ministrations of the latter having only reference to the ecclesiastical and spiritual interests of the Irish, were not further contemplated by the second of these acts, than so far as was necessary to guard against the other orders, which both in the early struggles of the country, and in the recent and then yet existing machinations of the exiled family and its adherents, were undoubtedly instrumental, in a high degree, to the communications which they maintained with Ireland. This view is confirmed by the language of an act in the following year, by which the registering act is explained, and which evidently looks no further than the danger of rebellion. It is, however, evident, that a sense of such a nature in that age, when a disputed succession, turning mainly on the religion of a large class of the Irish people, who had always manifested an unusual tendency to civil strife, at every call of every mover or excitement, could not fail to awaken an intense spirit of suspicion and jealousy, of which the papists themselves must needs have been the direct objects. Nor, if the facts be directly regarded, was the sense either unnatural or without its justification in the actual state of the time, or in the records of the past. And here let it be recollected

* Ir. Statutes. An. Sec. Reg. Ann.

by our readers of that communion, that we have asserted the conditions of the question to have been altered by time, and the changes of continental politics; yet then the case was too plain even for the most dexterous advocacy of modern times to gloss over, without the aid of direct misstatement. Not only was there a strong and unsuppressed devotion to the Pretender, and a sentiment of national animosity sedulously fostered against the English and the protestants, but there was also yet remaining a strong and ardent hope on the part of the descendants of the ancient chiefs and toparchs of the land to regain their old possessions and barbaric control. The Pope still possessed the then expiring remains of that sway which in the middle ages was equivalent to the monarchy of the civilized world, and the regular clergy were yet under the persuasion that Ireland, and indeed England, were to be brought again within the pale of his jurisdiction. To effect these objects, there was but one apparent course—rebellion, under whatever name, or for whatever pretext it was promoted, among a population ever prompt to rebel, and ever open to every persuasion, and credulous of every pretext. Such was the state of facts; a mass of illusions consistent with the ignorance of the people, the iniquitous and turbulent projects of their leaders, and the excusable but inadmissible policy of the Romish church, constituted a case which must be regarded now as entirely exempt from the common rules of political justice, which do not contemplate such a state of things. Political freedom or equality must presume an acquiescence in the fundamental principles of the civil constitution; the maintenance of tenets, civil or ecclesiastical, which have for their object the overthrow of either the state itself, or of the existing rights of any class, or of the peace and order of the whole, must unquestionably be placed under whatever degree of constraint may appear essential for the purpose of effectual control. To this, we presume, no answer will be attempted; and we must confess, the surprise with which we have sometimes contemplated the injudicious and supererogatory efforts of modern popular writers and speakers forcibly to bring the claims of the Irish papists of modern times under the range of arguments from fact and principle, which, however they may be overlooked by a journalist or popular speaker, must ever have weight with the thoughtful and informed. These reflections are the necessary introduction to the mention of a measure which has always been described as one of peculiar hardship—the bill passed in the second year of queen Anne, for “preventing the further growth of popery;” an act which, however it may be justified in principle, is still open to more than doubt as to the prudence of its policy; a doubt which we would suggest on the strong ground, that in point of fact its severer clauses were never to any extent enforced. The act already noticed for guarding the succession, has one of its clauses to this effect:—“And forasmuch as it most manifestly appears that the papists of this kingdom, and other disaffected persons, do still entertain hopes of disappointing the said succession, as the same stands limited, for prevention whereof,” &c., &c. The act in question, among other matters in the preamble, states, that “many persons professing the popish religion have it in their power to raise divisions among protestants, by voting at elections for members of parliament, and also

have it in their power to use other ways and means, tending to the destruction of the protestant interests in this kingdom," &c., &c. Now, if it be kept in mind how much was then known and felt to depend on the safety and integrity of the protestant interests, and if the spirit be recollected that governed the entire conduct of those members of the church of Rome, who had the ignorant populace wholly at their command, the following harsh provisions will be more moderately and fairly judged of. 1st, They were forbidden to attempt to persuade protestants to renounce their church and creed. 2d, Papists were forbidden to send their children beyond seas for education. 3d, A provision is made to secure a subsistence for such children of popish parents as should embrace the protestant religion, in such cases as the parents should fail to provide for them, and the right of inheritance is secured to the eldest son, if a protestant. 4th, The guardianship of orphans is transferred from the nearest relative of the Romish, to the next of the protestant communion. 5th, Protestants having *any estate or interest* in the kingdom are forbidden to intermarry with papists. 6th, Papists are forbidden to purchase and estate in land, exceeding a lease of thirty-one years. 7th, Limits the descent of the estates of protestants to the next protestant heirs, passing over any papist who might be entitled to succeed on the demise of such possessors, unless in case of conformity within a certain specified time. 8th, Provides that the estates of papists' parents shall descend in gavelkind to their children, except in case where the eldest son should be a protestant at his father's death. These provisions are followed by others, for the purpose of securing their effect, by oaths and declarations. Of these one is a declaration for the purpose of ascertaining the creed, followed by an abjuration which we shall give at length, as confirmatory of the view here taken of the real intent of these enactments:—

"I A. B. do truly and sincerely acknowledge, profess, testify, and declare, in my conscience, before God and the world, that our sovereign lady, queen Ann, is lawful and rightful queen of this realm, and of all other her majestie's dominions and countries thereunto belonging. And I do solemnly and sincerely declare, that I do believe in my conscience, that the person pretended to be the Prince of Wales, during the life of the late king James, and since his decease pretending to be, and taking upon himself the style and title of king of England, by the name of James III., hath not any right or title whatsoever to the crown of this realm, or any other the dominions thereto belonging; and I do renounce, refuse, and abjure, any allegiance or obedience to him. And I do swear, that I will bear faith and true allegiance to her majesty queen Ann, and her will defend to the utmost of my power, against all traitorous conspiracies and attempts whatsoever which shall be made against her person, crown, or dignity. And I will do my best endeavour to disclose and make known to her majesty, and her successors, all treasons and traitorous conspiracies, which I shall know to be against her, or any of them. And I do faithfully promise to the utmost of my power, to support, maintain, and defend the limitation and succession of the crown, against him, the said James, and all other persons whatsoever, as the same is, and stands limited by an act, intituled, *An Act declaring the rights and liberties of*

the subject, and settling the succession of the crown, to her present majesty, and the heirs of her body, being protestants; and as the same by one other act, intituled, *An Act for the further limitation of the crown, and better securing the rights and liberties of the subject*, is and stands limited after the decease of her majesty, and for default of issue of her majesty, to the princess Sophia, electoress and duchess dowager of Hanover, and the heirs of her body, being protestants. And all these things I do plainly and sincerely acknowledge and swear, according to these express words by me spoken, and according to the plain and common understanding of the same words, without equivocation, mental evasion, or secret reservation whatsoever. And I do make this recognition, acknowledgment, adjuration, renunciation, and promise, heartily, willingly, and truly, upon the true faith of a Christian.

"SO HELP ME GOD."

The next clause states the importance of the cities of Limerick and Galway as garrison towns—a fact well confirmed by the entire history of the recent struggle—and on this view provides for their security, in case of any future outbreak of the same formidable spirit which had been laid with so much bloodshed and difficulty, by prohibiting the settlement there of any persons of the Romish communion after the 25th of March, 1703, and by exacting a security for the peaceable demeanour of those who were actual residents. This clause is described by a very clever, and not generally uncandid historian of the present day, with a recklessness of assertion not easily accounted for, even by that writer's extreme party principles,—a violation of the treaties of Limerick and Galway. The assertion is mischievous, as well as unfounded upon any clause or stipulation in either of those treaties. We are of opinion that the fears of the loyalists of that day, and the still more warrantable fears of the English and the commercial inhabitants of this island, contained some exaggeration: such is human feeling. We also think that the consequences of legislation, founded on the prepossessions of fear, were unfortunate; but taking as the true, and only true ground of a just appreciation of the *equity* of that entire system of harsh enactment, we feel bound to insist that it was all unanswerably justified by the whole history of the previous century. If this indeed were not the case,—if our English ancestors, to whom Ireland owes whatever she possesses of prosperity, had really, as Mr Taylor would represent, first robbed and then enslaved,—there is now no wise or humane object in insisting on the fact, or endeavouring to keep alive resentment and vindictive recollection; the wisdom, if not the sincerity, may surely be doubted, which for the service of party, would thus appeal to the very passions which have been the efficient and proximate causes of all the sufferings of unhappy Ireland. To what purpose can it be to tell the Irish people, (were it not an unwarrantable falsehood,) that they have been the victims of every wrong, but to excite that spirit of mistaken retaliation, which has ever, and will ever, recoil upon themselves. If they really were plundered, will the descendants of the plunderer be so gratuitously generous as to make restitution now, in the tenth generation? If they were oppressed, are their descendants to stretch the prerogative of Divine vengeance, and visit the sins of the fathers beyond the

third or fourth generation? If this were justified, in fact, what would be the consequence? *Such* justice will never be obtained while a hand can be lifted to resist: and those who falsify history to preach vengeance, would soon become witnesses to the reality which they so heedlessly overlook in the zeal of their patriotism, and be forced to acknowledge the neglected truth, that it is to such patriots and such a spirit, that Ireland owes all her sufferings. If she is never to know peace, or to attain civil progress, until the results of seven or eight centuries (results ever forgotten in the history of other nations) shall be reversed: she is then alone among nations doomed to a perpetual reproach and curse. These reflections are not designed to vindicate anything, or, on the other hand, to depreciate anything practicable for the advantage even of a party; but we would suggest, that the claims of justice and policy may be better preferred on their actual grounds, either in equity or expediency, than on irritating and false statements of the past.

This severe enactment was plainly suggested by the fear and prudence of the time. It was the direct inference from the history of centuries, and then enforced by events and political workings, fresh in the memory of all. If these facts have happily now no existence, if the Pretender is no more, if the papal supremacy has expired, if the old insurgent temper of the Irish populace has yielded to the influence of growing civilization, if their priesthood has ceased to be a political instrument in the hands of foreign potentates, if the race of old families, once the despots of the soil, have melted into the pacific waters of industry and civilization—why, then, surely this island is mature for a full participation in every right and blessing that equal laws and regulated liberty can give. There is no need for the imprudent and calumnious assumption of a different state of things, which, if it still existed, would render their claims most doubtful. Is it not unjust to give up the whole force of advocacy, by confounding the people of to-day with those of a hundred years ago? Why will the writers of the radical press wrong the people, and stultify themselves by facts which can be contradicted, and reasons which have no force, but to irritate the passions, and endanger the peace and safety of the peasantry, who are the only persons deceived? We should advocate the cause of Ireland on other grounds, and in a different strain. But we are hurried out of our course, by the party representations of writers, into whose works we have been compelled or induced to look. It is more to the purpose, to observe here, that the provisions of the statute thus questioned, contain much to be deeply regretted, as being severe for a purpose not to be attained by severities. The object to be then legitimately pursued, was the effectual control of classes which were actuated by an unsafe spirit; and no means essential to the purpose were superfluous. But with this essential policy, there mingled a considerable and fatal error: it was judged by the inexperienced simplicity of our ancestors, that Romanism itself, to which so many disasters seemed traceable, might be gradually worn out and extinguished by legislative enactments, which were not in fact designed for oppression, but as imposing a motive for what Sir Richard Cox would call "the conversion of the Irish," it was, they thought, free to every man

to exchange a church which they held to be erroneous, for one which they held to be founded in divine truth; and if their notion was just, none could suffer by the change. They had no ill will to papists as men, but erroneously fancied that popery could be put down by penalties. In this they betrayed some ignorance of human nature, as well as of ecclesiastical history; and we are free to admit that the great support of Romanism in Ireland, has been the strength derived from the political character, and scope of influence thus infused into it. It is one of the unhappy conditions of fallen human nature, to be cold enough about religion as referrible to its real and only just principles, as expressed in the "first and great commandment," and the second, which "is like unto it." But for one who will love God or man, there are ten thousand who will joyfully fight in his name: when a spiritual principle is lowered into a vehicle for discontent, adventure, anger, or mere excitement of any kind, it gathers fire fast enough. It is indeed easier to wield or bear the faggot and brand, than to bear the common humiliations of the Christian walk, or to serve in peace. Such is man in every age and nation. And looking thus on the very justifiable fear and precaution of our forefathers, we think that it was unfortunate to plant, so deeply as they did, the roots of such a tree. The most anxious care, we believe, should be preserved, so far as may be, to keep a clear line between politics and religious tenets; we say, so far as may be, for it is not possible to exclude the consideration when the political and religious tenets happen to be one: a difficulty,—in some degree lessened by the fact, that the individual is not altogether to be identified with the church to which he belongs; for, if no stronger tie than the spiritual tie shall have been forcibly woven, most laymen are held but feebly by the bonds of mere ecclesiastical control. It is also not nearly so light a matter as it may be thought at first view, to take up a ground liable to misrepresentations of so dangerous a character as the charge of religious oppression. Whatever the occasion may chance to be, the rallying point of popular clamour will be some venerable name: for in the whole scope of error there is no admitted plea but truth and right. The most stringent system of civil control, directed against acts or conduct, is less liable to resistance of a dangerous kind, and far more transitory in its after-workings, than the lightest, which places resistance under the sanction of a sacred pretext, and the guidance of spiritual policy.

The papists asked leave to be heard by their counsel against this bill; and the desired permission was granted. Sir Theobald Butler, Messrs Malone, and Rice, attended, and exerted considerable eloquence and ability. They pleaded the treaty of Limerick, which their hearers considered as mere advocacy. They also urged the meritorious conduct of the papists since their last submission; but the argument was surely rather premature—the bloody experiment of insurrection will seldom be tried twice in the same generation. With more truth Butler dwelt on the danger of sowing strife between parents and children; and the truth was felt as a dreadful necessity. It only remains to add here, that this law was from the commencement ineffective. The provisions of real hardship, which affected property, and in some measure tended to injure the authority of parents, were easily eluded

by conveyances and incumbrances, and the whole resources of legal fiction and contrivance. The magistrates, in most instances, refused to perform their part in enforcing a law revolting to the pride, and prejudicial to the interests of those gentlemen, with whom, in the intercourse of private life, they were wont to live on terms of friendship and respect. The Irish parliament, it is true, made repeated efforts to enforce its laws; and in March, 1705, they passed a vote, "that all magistrates, and other persons whatsoever, who neglected or omitted to put the penal laws into due execution, were betrayers of the liberties of the kingdom." In 1709, an act for the further enforcement of this was passed, which demands no additional comment here, save that, while it enforced its essential provisions, it also so regulated and limited its operation, as to lessen the pernicious effects. We shall have, unfortunately, other occasions to revert to this topic, which presents the great stumbling-block to Irish history. It still continues to separate into two irreconcilable systems, the opinions, and even the records of the two great sections into which the intelligence of this country is divided. We shall have conducted our own statements with little skill indeed, if those who think with either, unless with unusual moderation, will consent to reckon us among their parties. On party questions we have already stated truly, and more than once, our principle,—the nature of which is to exclude general reproach from all those great sections of society, who, acting sincerely on the principles they hold for true and just, or the interests by which they are connected, have looked on each other's opinions not only with rational dissent, but even with aversion and prejudice, and in the conflict of long contention and recrimination, have inculpated each other with more accusation and calumny, (true and false,) and obscured each other's whole history with more animosity than the ordinary powers of human reason can avail to remove, correct, and enlighten. In this we pledge ourselves to no particular view of any question; but simply mean to assert, and, so far as in us lies, maintain the assertion, that the public desires and demands of the great aggregate of all public bodies, are always honest, and founded on *their notions* of right and justice. These are, mostly on all sides, largely alloyed with fallacies of every kind; but the bad passions which such oppositions must on both sides call into being, are far the worst, because the most permanent of the evils they produce. And whatever may have been the wrongs, oppressions, or murders and robberies committed on either side, by those unprincipled individuals never wanting to any—their mischief would, like all the real results of this transitory world, die with the actors and sufferers, and produce no effect upon the aftertime, were they not kept alive by the advocacy of party; so that every generation is successively inflamed by the firebrand kindled in the pile of ancient animosities. The story of the phoenix rising regenerated from the ancestral nest, has no stronger type in reality than the hell-kite of dissension, which preys on the peace of this country. But once more, we must refrain: the time is not yet ripe for the one truth, deeply reproachful as it is to all who have sought the good of the country, loving her prosperity "not wisely, but too well." The whole of her sufferings are the result of *protracted dissension*: the combatants, when they pause to look at stained and tram-

pled ground, the broken walls, and the air surcharged with the dust of conflict, may point to the dismal scene, and accuse each other as authors of the ruin wrought by their mutual madness.*

It is more pleasing to the historian to turn from the gloom of such considerations, to the efforts of more enlightened policy for the facilitation of trade. A disordered state of public feeling, the vast uncertainty of peace, and the want of encouragement from the ascendant power of England, presented serious obstacles to a commerce so fortunate in its natural resources, that even these disadvantages could not prevent it from making a considerable start in advance, whenever there was a breathing time from civil fury. The obstacles which resulted from an uncertain state of property, and still more from the feebleness and defectiveness of the law, presented a more constant pressure, and were less capable of being remedied by any occasional measure or individual resistance; they operated not so much by direct interference, as by the influence they had in enfeebling the vital functions of trade by the effect which they had on public credit. To remedy this disadvantage, few laws were made, because the eye of the government was diverted from the ordinary processes of civil life, by the violent and disordered processes which affected the whole state of the land, in which no member performed its proper office, or moved in its proper place. An act "for quieting possessions, and disposing of undisposed and *plus acres*," was among the most useful and judicious enactments planned on the same occasion. In the preamble of this act, several statements are incidentally made, which throw some light on the policy of the government, and the state of the country. The introductory sentences state, that "Whereas it will very much tend to the prosperity of this kingdom, which hath been ruined by the frequent rebellions of Irish papists, and to the interests of your majesty's revenue, that your good subjects be quieted in their possessions, and encouraged to plant and improve the country." For the purpose of this encouragement, so essential to the advance of Irish prosperity, two main provisions are contained in this act,—viz., the disposal of certain residual denominations of lands, of which the principal part had already been granted, or otherwise disposed of. These portions, called *plus acres*, were now to be "vested in such person, or persons, who, on the 1st day of October, 1702, were in the possession of such *plus acres*, by themselves, their tenants, &c.," to be enjoyed by them and their heirs for ever, liable to such quitrent as was payable out of the other portions of the same denominations already vested. And by the following clause, to terminate all disputes about the possession of such land, a power was vested in the lord-lieutenant and six of the privy council, within three years to hear, and finally determine, all claims to their possession. The act goes on to state the fact, that there still continued to be large tracts of the same class of lands undisposed of; for the most part so sterile as

* How far the principle here enforced is capable of any practical application is a question of a different kind, and not within our province. Rights, whether real or imaginary, will not be relinquished for the good of mankind; and truth, if sacred, ought not, for any earthly consideration. But it is the more incumbent on those who agitate the world, to weigh well the tenets they support and propagate.

not to be worth any quitrent, "and therefore remains desolate and uninhabited, but are a receptacle for thieves, robbers, and tories, to the great detriment of the country, and delay of her majesty's revenue." On these considerations, a power is similarly given to the lord-lieutenant, &c., as before, to grant those lands to protestants, for reasonable rents, and such terms of years as they might see fit. Still more to the purpose declared in the preamble, is the first clause of the next following chapter of the act, which confirms every estate vested in pursuance of the acts of settlement and explanation, in the last reign, to be held free from all liabilities and exceptions contained in the provisions of that act, and in future barring all claimants who had not hitherto brought their actions, by the full and final extinction of their pretended rights.*

An advantage of at least equal importance to the trade of this kingdom was the act for recovery of small debts, &c., attributable entirely to the judicious advice of Sir Richard Cox. He also obtained an act of the English parliament, allowing the exportation of Irish linen direct to the colonies.

The effect of his visit to England was to make the character and distinguished abilities of Cox more thoroughly known and appreciated; and Mr Methuen, the Irish chancellor, having been sent ambassador to Portugal, Cox was raised to that high office.

In 1705, Sir Richard was appointed lord-justice, together with lord Cutts, the duke of Ormonde being at the time lord-lieutenant. The jacobite principles of this nobleman were fully understood, and there was entertained among the members of the Irish administration an anxious wish for his removal. The reader is aware that on both sides of the water there was at this time a powerful though latent collision of the two great antagonist parties on the subject of the succession. It was universally felt that the queen and court party were secretly favourable to the Pretender, and that all the great leaders of the court party kept up a private correspondence with that unfortunate family. Among these, some, as Marlborough, Harley, &c., were simply desirous to keep themselves well with either side, and had a sincere desire to preserve the act of settlement as limited by the act of succession. Others, among whom St John with the duke of Ormonde were the chief, were more sincere in their political zeal for the exile. The jacobites were of course preferred to place and power; and during this reign there was a general disposition of the administrative arrangements for the purposes of that party. This was carried to as great a height as the strong and universal sense of the British public admitted, so that there is abundant proof that the most of the court measures and appointments were dictated by James, or by his authorized agents in London. Ireland was, as ever, the rallying point of expectation; the devoted tenacity of the popular affections, the influence of the Roman See, the over-mastery of the thoroughly diffused agency of the regular clergy, and the general, and indeed natural, bias of a prevailing creed, which by its very institution was political, and which a stringent control imbibited; all these considerations, of which the

* Ir. Statutes, 2 Anne Reg. c. ix.

most prominent had already made Ireland the stage of a desolating conflict, now made it the scene of an important byplay of party. Under these circumstances, it is not improbable that there were several strong currents of public feeling against the person and conduct of the duke of Ormonde. In spite of the popularity of his very name and title, it was in effect difficult for him long to continue in favour with any. Compelled by circumstances to pursue a line of conduct which deprived him of the regard of the Irish party, his real temper and private views were too well known to be trusted by the English. The British cabinet, reluctantly hurried along by the strong zeal of the whig party, which then occupied the position and politics of the modern conservative, the measures of the administration were for the most part in conformity with the great protestant feeling in England, and the duke was directed to "prevent the growth of popery." To this effect he had pledged himself, and he kept his promise. From the state of feeling already described as secretly governing the administration of affairs, we should be inclined to infer that numerous under-currents of fear, suspicion, doubt, and intrigue, of which we have before us no direct evidence, then strongly agitated the minds of political men, and led to demonstrations not now precisely to be explained. The duke was, we doubt not, at the time sincere in his profession of political faith, though after-circumstances show that his mind was working round to the strong bias of the court. If the inference should yet be premature, still the anti-Jacobite zeal of the English people, and of the protestant party in Ireland, exasperated by a just suspicion of the court party, was not easily satisfied. The distinction of whig and tory became at this time prevalent in Ireland, and with it, it is probable, that the violent party feelings connected with it were also imported—from which our inference derives additional probability. Whatever were the duke's opinions, he must have at the time begun to be an object of jealous observation. And if it be said that the decision of his conduct was sufficient to exempt him from doubt, yet it is to be observed that for this he had the less credit with the whig party, as he was known to have, from carelessness and facility of character, so entangled himself in the discharge of his public trusts, as to be much in the power of the leaders of that party. Whatever were the causes, after the duke's recall to England, the feeling of the council against his continuing to hold the vice-regal office, began to show itself strongly. Lord Cutts, with Sir Richard Cox, were on this occasion appointed lords-justices. Cutts died, and an effort was made by some of the Irish council to persuade Sir Richard to issue writs to the council to elect a governor; by this means hoping that the duke might be superseded tacitly. To render this proposal more persuasive, it is asserted that it was suggested to Sir Richard that he would be the person on whom the choice of the council would fall. He was too experienced and sagacious to be circumvented by such an artifice, and repelled the temptation. An old statute of Henry VIII. was proposed as the authority for this proposal: Sir Richard explained that this statute was but a provision for the absence of the chief magistrate of the kingdom. The councillors urged, and Sir Richard consulted his learned brethren, the judges and law officers of the crown, who coincided in his view, to which, thus confirmed, he

adhered, to the no small vexation of those who had endeavoured to urge him on the opposite course.

In April, 1707, the duke of Ormonde was removed, and the earl of Pembroke was appointed in his room. There seems, at the moment, to have been a strong doubt among Sir Richard's friends as to the consequences of the change as regarded himself. But on the following June, he found himself under the necessity of resigning the seals to the lord-lieutenant, who took them with an assurance that he would not have received them but with the design of adequate compensation. Sir Richard was aware of the active enmity to which both his recent conduct and his known politics had exposed him, and he felt that he must not expect to pass free from its effects; but with the natural firmness of his manly character, he resolved to face his enemies, and trust to the integrity of his entire conduct and character. His country affairs had been for some time calling for his presence, and he had been preparing to leave town; but, considering the construction which political animosity is always prepared to fasten on the most indifferent actions, he resolved to stand his ground, and brave the inquiry which he knew his enemies would soon set on foot. On this point he was not kept in suspense: numerous accusations were brought against him; all of which he answered so fully and ably, as they followed each other, that the malevolence of his accusers was confounded, and their perseverance wearied.

On the death of queen Anne, Sir Richard retired from public life. In April, 1733, he was seized with an apoplectic attack, of which he died in the following month, at the age of eighty-three. He was endowed with many personal advantages, and many great qualifications for the professional career in which he rose to eminence, as well as for literature, such as it was in Ireland in his day. His historical work is well known, and has been largely used in the former parts of this work. His zeal, as a Protestant writer, is such as to render him liable to the charge of partiality; but he cannot be fairly charged with misrepresentation; and they who would make the charge, would do well to weigh his statements taken with their foundation in fact and general consistency, compared with the unmeasured and angry statements of the writers who may be regarded as his antagonists. His zeal is to be accounted for creditably, by the actual state of Ireland through his long life; and if we make many abatements on the score of fear and error, still, to estimate mens' conduct justly, we have no right to demand superhuman penetration, that looks beyond the present probabilities and appearances, and measures opposition by the philosophical standard of a political canon, which, in the middle of the 19th century, has not yet been ascertained.

William Molyneux.

BORN A.D. 1656—DIED A.D. 1698.

THE name of Mr William Molyneux is in several ways distinguished. He is eminently entitled to a high place among the few Irishmen of

his day who can claim the distinction of philosophy, and might well grace the literary branch of this work; but there are considerations which make it expedient and fit that we should rather assign him a place in his lower but more known character of a politician, and a public man; a position which his celebrated pamphlet renders not inappropriate. And the reader has already been apprized of the necessity under which we are placed, to avail ourselves of every name at our disposal, for the purpose of completing the summary sketch which we are bound to give of the remainder of this long period.

William Molyneux was descended from a line distinguished by literary and scientific talent. His grandfather was Ulster king-at-arms, and is mentioned by Sir James Ware with eulogy, as "*veneranda antiquitatis cultor*." He wrote a continuation of Hanmer's Chronicle of Ireland, which was not however published entire. His father, Samuel, was Master Gunner of Ireland, and wrote a practical treatise on Projectiles; he held a lucrative office also in the Court of Exchequer, and was much respected by the better classes of society in Dublin.

William was born in Dublin, April 17th, 1656. His health was weak; and, as he grew up, he appeared to have so tender a frame, that it was judged inexpedient to send him to a public school. A private tutor was therefore retained, and he was educated at his father's house till his 15th year, when he entered the university of Dublin, under the tuition of Mr Palliser, then a fellow, and afterwards Archbishop of Cashel. In the university, he obtained all the distinction then to be acquired by proficiency in the branches of learning then taught; and, having taken his Bachelor's degree, he proceeded to London, where he entered his name in the Middle Temple in 1675. At the Temple he continued for three years in the diligent study of the law. He did not, however, neglect his academic acquirements; and the mathematical and physical sciences, which were at that time beginning to advance, and had received a mighty impulse from the discoveries of the day, and the labours of several members of the Royal Society, among whom Newton, then in the commencement of his illustrious career, so won upon his philosophical and inquiring temper, that he was led to abandon his first selection of a profession, which, however attractive to the intellectual taste, is yet unfavourable to scientific pursuit. With this view, he returned to live in his native city in 1678, and soon after married Miss Lucy Domville, daughter of Sir William Domville, the attorney-general for Ireland. He quickly entered upon a course of scientific inquiry; and, feeling the strong attraction of astronomy, in which the most important branches yet remained as questions to exercise the ingenuity and anxious research of the ablest heads in Europe, he devoted himself for a time to this attractive science with the whole ardour of his mind. On this subject, in 1681, he commenced a correspondence with Flamsted, which was kept up for many years.

In 1683, he exerted himself for the establishment in Dublin of a Philosophical Society, on the plan of the Royal Society, of which he had witnessed the admirable effects in London. This society had been created in 1645, by the influence and efforts of Wren, Wallis, and other

eminent men, and afterwards became a centre to the efforts of experimental inquiry, to which the genius of Galileo had given an impulse, and Bacon a direction; and which was in this period so largely advanced by our countryman Boyle, under whose name we shall have to detail at length the history of this institution, and of those branches of human knowledge, to the cultivation of which it was mainly instrumental. To establish such an institution in Dublin, was to advance indeed a wide step upon the obscure domains of intellectual night; nor, since the foundation of the university of Dublin, had there been attempted a project which, if duly encouraged, would have been so widely beneficial to Ireland. Such was the enlightened and patriotic design of Molyneux, who was zealously joined by Sir William Petty and other eminent persons. Sir William Petty accepted the office of president, and Molyneux himself that of secretary. This institution, which in Dublin may, perhaps, at that period, be considered as premature, was not, in the strong collision of party, and the absorption of political passion, likely to be allowed a very distinguished or enduring existence; yet it became, like all such laudable efforts, the parent of others. It was productive of less doubtful benefit to the fortune of Molyneux, whose reputation it largely extended, and thus became the means of his introduction to that great man, the patron of every person or institution likely to promote the good of his country—James the first duke of Ormonde. By this illustrious nobleman, then lord-lieutenant of Ireland, Molyneux was, with Sir William Robinson, appointed surveyor of the king's buildings and works, and chief engineer.

In 1685, he had the honour of being elected a fellow of the Royal Society, to the transactions of which he became largely a contributor: many papers of his are to be found in the several volumes from the fourteenth to the twenty-ninth. The same year he also obtained an appointment to survey the fortresses on the Flemish coast, with a view to perfect his knowledge of the art of engineering. He took occasion to extend his travels through Holland and Germany; and, as he carried letters from his friend Flamsted to Cassini and other distinguished professors, he had the happiness to meet and converse with the most distinguished astronomers in Europe.

From these incidents, it may be imagined that his earliest productions were likely to be decided by the prevailing taste of his mind and character of his studies. On his return to Dublin, in 1686, he published an account of a telescope dial invented by himself. This account was republished in London in 1700.

On the publication of Newton's "*Principia*," in the following year, Molyneux received the sheets as they were printed, from Halley. He expressed his admiration and astonishment at that wonderful production of intellectual power, till then perhaps unequalled in the progress of human knowledge. He at the same time confessed the difficulty which, in common with many eminent mathematicians of that period, he found in the perfect understanding of its contents.

The calm pursuits of philosophy were not likely to continue long in the turbulent atmosphere of an Irish metropolis. The storms of civil dissension, never long dormant, in 1688 began with fresh fury to dis-

turb the unquiet population, and agitate the timid and peaceful with well-grounded terrors. The desolating series of events which we have related under the head of Tyrconnel, set fully in, and continued until terminated by a reaction still more deadly and fearful. The Philosophical Society was thus dispersed, and its members mostly compelled to escape from the fiery and terrible persecution which raged against the protestants. Molyneux removed to Chester, where he occupied himself in the composition of a work on Dioptrics, for which he had been for some time collecting facts, and perhaps making experiments. We have not seen this work, but think it most probably rather an attempt to embody, in a systematic form, the knowledge then existing, than containing any addition of his own. Mathematical historians at least make no mention of the labours of Mr Molyneux. The mention of such works may therefore be regarded merely as indications of the habits and intellectual character of the author. The skill and knowledge, however, thus exerted, must then have been very considerable, and the publication of such a work must have been thought important, as Flamsted gave his assistance in the arrangement of the matter, and Halley revised the proofs, and, at the author's request, inserted a well-known theorem of his own.*

During this residence at Chester, he had the affliction of losing his wife, who died there, leaving him one son. After the Revolution of 1689, he returned to Dublin, and was soon after elected member of parliament for Dublin. In 1695, he was again elected for the university, where he received the degree of Doctor of Laws. He continued to represent the same distinguished constituency, the first perhaps existing in any representative government, during the rest of his life; a fact which might alone entitle him to the reputation of worth, ability, and learning.

He was soon after nominated by the lord-lieutenant as one of the commissioners for forfeited estates, with a salary of £500 a-year. But the task was neither suited to his tastes nor feelings: he was indifferent about money, and quickly resigned a laborious and highly invidious and unpopular office.

But the event of his life which has conferred an historical interest upon his name, and which forms our reason for bringing him forward at this period of our writing, was the publication of his pamphlet, published in 1698, and entitled, "The Case of Ireland, being bound by acts of parliament in England, stated."† This essay was occasioned by a discussion then in progress in the English parliament, to prohibit the exportation of Irish woollen manufactures. It derives much historical importance from the consideration, that it was the beginning of a struggle for the independence of the Irish legislature, renewed at several periods, and leading eventually to interesting consequences.

The argument of Molyneux contains no main point on which we have

* Dr Halley invented a general algebraical theorem, to find the foci of optic glasses; but we believe the theorem adverted to here, is a geometrical construction for finding the foci of rays diverging from, or converging to, a given point in the axis of a spherical lens, under certain conditions.

† Title of the edition published in 1773.

not already had to express some opinion. With the inference of Mr Molyneux we concur; but we take this occasion to express, and this argument to illustrate our strong dislike to the mischievous fallacy of that sort of political metaphysics to which he thinks it necessary to resort, for the proof of a plain matter of fact. We freely admit, that there are certain abstract principles involved in the history and general facts of the social state, to investigate which would demand the genius of a philosopher, and to apply them truly, the sagacity of a statesman. But it is to the inverse method of *a priori* reasoning, which begins by assumptions of states of society which never had existence, and first principles, which though they *may be true* in fact, are, *as assumptions*, quite gratuitous, that we must object as the fertile resources of the political sophist on every side of every question that can be raised. In the perfection of the Eternal Mind, we freely grant there may be certain immutable first principles, independent of the constitution of things, from which, if once known, all truth might be inferentially evolved; but we deny the competence of the authority by which a large class of writers have affirmed such principles, moral or social, independently of positive laws. Human rights are never, *in fact*, established in such assumptions, having in every real instance, a twofold basis fully adequate to their support; those positive laws and defined principles of right clearly promulgated in the express law of God, together with that expediency which has essentially governed social institutions: when we hear of original "rights," not derived from these, we ask for the charter. But to proceed to our author: the intent and principal heads of this argument may be best stated in his own words. They are as follows:—

"First, How Ireland became a kingdom *annexed* to the crown of England. And here we shall at large give a faithful narrative of the first expedition of the Britons into this country, and king Henry II.'s arrival here, such as our best historians give us.

"Secondly, We shall inquire, whether this expedition, and the English settlement that afterwards followed thereon, can properly be called a *conquest*? or whether any victories obtained by the English in any succeeding ages in this kingdom, upon any rebellion, may be called a *conquest* thereof?

"Thirdly, Granting that it were a *conquest*, we shall inquire what *title* a conquest gives.

"Fourthly, We shall inquire what *concessions* have been from time to time made to Ireland, to take off what even the most rigorous asserters of a conqueror's title do pretend to. And herein we shall show by what degrees the English form of government, and the English statute-laws, came to be received among us; and this shall appear to be wholly by the *consent* of the people and Parliament of Ireland.

"Fifthly, We shall inquire into the precedents and opinions of the learned in the laws relating to this matter, with observations thereon.

"Sixthly, We shall consider the reasons and arguments that may be farther offered on one side and t'other; and we shall draw some general conclusions from the whole."

Before making any comment on the conduct of this argument by Molyneux, it is necessary to prevent any mistake respecting our de-

sign by anticipating an ulterior step, so far as to say, that in our simple judgment, the first point—"how Ireland became a kingdom annexed to the crown of England"—is, for the present view, of no importance whatever. In the interpretation of a verbal document, it may be most essentially necessary to discover the intent by such a reference to causes and previous acts: but we do not think that the method by which any political power has been primitively derived, can affect any question as to its extent, beyond the first *consequent settlement which defines and converts that power into a civil system of government*, to which all subsequent questions of right and authority must be referred. Until this takes place, the law of *force* prevails—a law which involves no other;—so long as *mere conquest* is the power, unwilling subjection to control is implied, and resistance a right. It is a question of strength, and admits of the natural balance of action and reaction; but so soon as a settled order of civil government is fixed with the consent of the conquered, (for without consent, they cannot refer to the settlement for rights,) the rights and wrongs of conquests are from that moment at an end. We shall quickly revert to this point. But thus far we consider a necessary preface to the affirmation, that we consider the argument altogether fallacious, by which Molyneux attempts to prove the point that Ireland was not conquered.

Ireland became first subject to England, by that species of armed occupation by which other nations have, in different periods of time, changed their population and government. This occupation was attended by all the ordinary circumstances of such invasions; but limited by the facts, that—1st, The political situation of Henry II. compelled him to proceed for a time by simply giving license to the military spirit of his barons: 2d, By the *cession* of the native chiefs, which necessarily terminated the progress of hostilities. These conditions, *so far as they go*, are conquest to all intents; that part of the author's definition which affirms that there must be resistance, is an unwarranted *assumption*. The question then becomes, first, how far the combined circumstances of force and cession went at *the same time*? Beyond this point—that is, if any still held out by force—the question would arise, by what means or under what conditions they yielded?

Mr Molyneux states, and we see no reason to dissent from his statement—"I doubt not but the barbarous people of Ireland at that time were struck with fear and terror of king Henry's powerful force which he brought with him; but still their easy and voluntary submissions *exempt them from the consequences of a hostile conquest, whatever they are: where there is no opposition, such a conquest can take no place.*"

Now, in this paragraph, we must contend the entire essential part of conquest by force, is actually admitted; but of the words in italic character, part is nugatory and part absurd. It involves the absurd supposition, that a conquering expedition is like a cricket-match or a boat-race, for the mere trial of strength, and without any design of subjection or occupation. By yielding in time, bloodshed is averted; but before any further consequence is said to be prevented, it may be asked, in such case, what *can be said to be yielded*, and what is meant by "voluntary submission?" Surely nothing at all, if not that which the invader demands or is content to take. And this, whatever it

is, has been yielded to superior force. It is the submission of fear or conscious weakness, and can have no other source; for right is out of the question, until it has been established either by force or consent. We cannot see what additional right, bloodshed, and the slaughter and spoliation so often an attendant circumstance of conquest, would have given.

In his discussion of this case, Molyneux refers to that of England; it was (as he aimed it) an ingenious application of the *argumentum ad hominem*. "I believe," he says, "the people of England would take it very ill to be thought a conquered nation, in the sense that some impose it on Ireland; and yet we find the same argument in the one case as in the other, if the argument from the king's style of *conqueror* prevail." Considering the strong intellect of Molyneux, the comparison seems more like a jest than an argument. Unhappily for the argument, it must be admitted that England was conquered by William. Whether the manner or the immediate consequences be regarded, it is impossible for a conquest to be more complete. The country was invaded by a large force, and was taken possession of by the invader; the native government was set aside, the natives subjected, and the lands seized. The submission of the Saxons was allowed, for obvious reasons, to take the appearance of a voluntary submission; but the contrary was understood on both sides. The battle of Hastings was the conquest of England.

Turning from this nugatory question to the third and essential step of Molyneux, viz.:—"what title a conquest gives," it offers no difficulty. We have no objection to his conclusion, although we think it complicated with some considerations not of much importance to the argument;—as, for instance, the justice or injustice of the conquest, which we must observe in passing, cannot have any practical effect on the result, or be afterwards taken into account in any scale of right below that which weighs the strength of nations in the field of battle. Supposing a conquest to be made and completely terminated by the *formal* (for no more is essential to the argument) submission of the governing authorities and chief inhabitants, who have any power to resist, the practical question is then, what title is thus conveyed to the conqueror; and how this title is bounded by other considerations of right?

The title is nothing more or less than occupation by force. It would be a waste of time and space to inquire by what law or what jurisdiction such an occupation can be strictly declared illegal. It may, in the first act, according to certain general principles of equity, derived from the positive laws of God and man, be unjust, barbarous, and cruel; but these rules have no *direct* application, beyond the first acquisition; and the only jurisdiction which has any competency on the subject, is the opinion of civilized nations, which have, in our own civilized times, admitted certain conventional rules of conduct, which constitute the actual law of nations, and are, nevertheless, broken whenever it is found expedient. This is indeed, to be deprecated and deplored; but we must not be misled, even by our sense of right. Such laws of opinion had no existence in that primitive time, when, among other barbarous characteristics, the law of force was the law of right all over the world.

To constitute a LAW, there must be a sanction and a tribunal. But we waste our words; the right of all conquest is consent implied, the submission of the conquered. This rule is more for their benefit and protection than for the advantage of the conqueror; for without this saving condition, conquest would be compelled to proceed to extermination. Affirming, on these grounds, the full title of the conqueror, we may quote Molyneux for the point.

"First.—'Tis plain he gets by his conquest no power over those who *conquered with him*; they that fought on his side, whether as private soldiers or commanders, cannot suffer by the conquest, but must, at least, be as much freemen as they were before. If any lost their freedom by the Norman conquest, (supposing king William I. had right to invade England,) it was only the Saxons and Britons, and not the Normans, that conquered with him. In like manner, supposing Henry II. had a right to invade this island, and that he had been opposed therein by the inhabitants, it was only the *ancient race* of the Irish that could suffer by this subjugation; the English and Britons that came over and conquered with him, retained all the freedoms and immunities of *free-born* subjects; they nor their descendants could not in reason lose these for being successful and victorious; for so the state of both conquerors and conquered shall be equally slavish. Now, 'tis manifest that the great body of the present people of Ireland are the progeny of English and Britons, that from time to time have come over into this kingdom, and there remains but a mere handful of the ancient Irish at this day;—I may say not one in a thousand; so that if I, or any body else, claim the like freedoms with the natural born subjects of England, as being descended from them, it will be impossible to prove the contrary. I conclude, therefore, that a *just conqueror* gets no power, but only over those who have *actually assisted* in that *unjust* force that is used against him.

"And as those that joined with the conqueror in a just invasion, have lost no right by the conquest, so neither have those of the country who *opposed him not*. This seems so reasonable at first proposal, that it wants little proof. All that gives title in a *just* conquest, is the opposers using *brutal force*, and quitting the law of reason, and using the law of violence, whereby the conqueror is entitled to use him as a *beast*; that is, kill and enslave him." The argument of this paragraph is, in our view, wholly inconsequent.

"Secondly.—Let us consider what that power is which a *rightful conqueror* has over the subdued opposers, and this, we shall find, extends *little farther* than over their lives; for how far it extends to their estates, and that it extends not at all to deprive their *posterity* of the freedoms and immunities to which all mankind have a *right*, I shall show presently. That the *just conqueror* has an absolute power over the *lives* and *liberties* of the conquered, appears from hence,—because the conquered, by putting themselves in a *state of war*, by using an unjust force, have thereby *forfeited their lives*. For, quitting reason, (which is the rule between man and man,) and using force, (which is the way of beasts,) they become liable to be destroyed by him against whom they use *force*, as any savage wild beast that is dangerous to his being.

"And this is the case of rebels in a settled commonwealth, who forfeit their lives on this account; but as to forfeiting their estates, it depends on the municipal laws of the kingdom. But we are now inquiring what the consequents will be between two contesting nations."

To the facts and main reasonings of this extract there seems little to be objected; but it turns, in some measure, on a principle which is too vague and elementary for the question really in his view, and is encumbered with consequences of a more doubtful kind, which his actual intent did not require. The question can be put to a shorter issue.

The right of conquest being *merely* the right of force, is determined by the immediate settlement which is consequently established, and carries with it the implication of consent. The conqueror, who must always be supposed to carry his conquest to the full extent that his purpose requires, takes life and property, and institutes some kind of government. All this is by the *right of war* as then understood: he imposes subjection, and receives the pledge of allegiance. To this point, power alone is his title, and the equity of his own breast, or his respect for opinion, his rule. From this point, the character of a conqueror, with all its rights, absolutely cease; his title is the settlement; his power the constitution of government, settled and received. The only question about his power is, what is the law? not how he obtained it.

We grant that such a question may at any time be raised by a nation; but it never can be decided, unless on the original terms: it is a question for arms alone to decide. Thus, though we arrive at the same conclusion with our author, we must object to some of his assumptions, which vitiate an important argument. Perhaps the reader may consider it trifling to quarrel with an argument in the intent of which we concur; but the manner of reasoning is not so indifferent: there is danger in the admission of a fallacy, which seems to open questions that have no existence in fact. It is neither just nor safe to say, that any question of right, in after times, can depend on an event of six centuries back. Such a mode of inquiry goes to the origin of rights, and necessarily arrives at some source of violence or usurpation. It is a mistake in principle, and, when carried far enough, is opposed to all rights whatever. And this it is which makes prescription the very foundation of human rights.

Nor does Molyneux stop until he allows his argument to carry him beyond the limits of discretion as well as reason. But we will not further detain the reader with disquisitions upon slight misapplications of principle, which no discriminating reader can fail to detect. Mr Molyneux having admitted the practice of the world to be different from his theory, next concedes the point for argument, and with more justice and force of reasoning, takes the ground already stated, of "concessions granted by" the conqueror.

From this he proceeds to an inquiry, for the purpose of showing "what concessions and grants have been made from time to time to the people of Ireland, and by what steps the laws of England came to be introduced into this kingdom." The steps of his argument from this become disentangled from the fallacies of his philosophy, and he

states perspicuously and fairly, the several authoritative declarations, or grants and concessions, by which the kings of England, commencing with Henry II., established and authorized the parliaments in Ireland. These have been sufficiently detailed in the course of these memoirs, and demand no present comment. Mr Molyneux pursues his argument to show the uniform independence of Ireland as a distinct and separate kingdom, upon authorities which we consider to be fully sufficient for such an inference, but familiar to the reader. He proves the fact up to the demise of Richard I., when the kingdom was absolutely vested in prince John, who then succeeding to the English crown, the question arises, whether England could have then, or from that period, obtained any dominion over Ireland? As it is evident that there can be no ground in theory why one of the two islands should obtain such authority rather than the other, it remained to inquire whether there existed any ground in fact, or in the nature of positive institution. To set this in a very strong point of view, Mr Molyneux cites various charters and declarations of right, in which it is quite apparent, that at the several times of their execution or declaration, Ireland was separate by the admission of the English government. Some apparent exceptions occur, of which he easily disposes, and which hardly amount to fair ground for exception. The language of the English parliament occasionally seems to imply a jurisdiction, or a power to bind Ireland; but the cases are either proofs of a disposition to usurp that right at the several times of their occurrence, or are to be construed as simply declaratory of the sense of enactments which had become law in Ireland by the adoption of the Irish legislature: something, too, we imagine, should be allowed for pure inadvertence. From a variety of instances, he makes it manifest, that such laws as were passed in England with the design of comprising both kingdoms, were uniformly transmitted to Ireland, to be passed into law by the Irish parliament; and indeed the history of Poyning's law, with the various controversies of which it was to the latest times the subject, make that question clear enough. It would, with such a cumbrous system of legislative machinery as is evidenced by the entire parliamentary history of this island, be inconsistent and gratuitous to assume a superfluous, inoperative, and occasional capacity of legislation in the English Parliament. The three express cases, which had been commonly cited by lawyers to maintain the adverse view, are clearly replied to by Mr Molyneux;* but there is a class of cases to which he adverts, which we shall more particularly point out, as curious for the evidence they give of the absence of any very precise or systematic principle in the ancient boundaries and limitations of the several jurisdictions and authorities under discussion. "There have," says Molyneux, "been other statutes or ordinances made in England for Ireland, which may reasonably be of force here,

* These cases, as cited by Molyneux, are:—1. Statutum Hiberniæ, 14 Hen. III. 2. Ordinatio pro statu Hiberniæ, 17 Ed. I. 3. The Act that all staple commodities passing out of England or Ireland shall be carried to Calais as long as the staple is at Calais, 2 Hen. VI. c. 4.

because they were made and assented to by our own representatives. Thus we find in the white-book of the Exchequer in Dublin, in the 9th year of Edward I., a writ sent to his chancellor of Ireland, wherein he mentions: '*Quædam statuta per nos de assensu prelatorum comitum baronum et communitalis regni nostræ Hiberniæ, nuper apud Lincoln et quædam alia statuta postmodum apud Eboracum facta.*' These, it may be supposed, were either statutes made at the request of the states of Ireland, to explain to them the common law of England, or, if they were introductive of *new laws*; yet they might well be of force in Ireland, being enacted by the assent of our own representatives, the lords spiritual and temporal and the commons of Ireland; and, indeed, these are instances so far from making against our claim, that I think nothing can be more plainly for us; for it manifestly shows that the king and Parliament of England would not enact laws to bind Ireland without the concurrence of the representatives of this kingdom."

"Formerly," he continues, "when Ireland was but thinly peopled, and the English laws not fully current in all parts of the kingdom, 'tis probable that then they could not frequently assemble with convenience or safety to make laws in their own parliament at home; and, therefore, during the heats of rebellions, or confusion of the times, they were forced to enact laws in England. But then this was always by proper representatives; for we find that, in the reign of Edward III., (and by what foregoes, 'tis plain that 'twas so in Edward I.'s time,) knights of the shires, citizens, and burghesses, were elected in the shires, cities, and burroughs of Ireland, to serve in Parliament in England, and have so served accordingly. For amongst the records of the Tower of London, Rot. 1, clause 50, Edw. III. par. 2, mem. 23, we find a writ from the king at Westminster, directed to James Butler, lord-justice of Ireland, and to R. archbishop of Dublin, his chancellor, requiring them to issue writs under the great seal of Ireland, to the several counties, cities, and burroughs, for satisfying the expenses of the men of that land who came over to serve in parliament in England. And in another roll, the 50th of Edw. III., mem. 19, on complaint to the king by John Draper, who was chosen burges of Cork, by writ, and served in the Parliament of England, and yet was denied his expenses by some of the citizens; care was taken to reimburse him.

"If, from these last-mentioned records, it be concluded that the parliament of England may bind Ireland, it must also be allowed that the people of Ireland ought to have their representatives in the parliament of England; and this, I believe, we should be willing enough to embrace; but this is a happiness we can hardly hope for."

Having thus disposed of the ancient precedents, Mr Molyneux observes of the more recent, "that they involve the very question under discussion, being the very grievances complained of as unwarranted innovation." He nevertheless proceeds to inquire into their history and force as precedents.

Having, in the previous argument, established the conclusion, that before 1641 there was "no statute made in England, introductory of

a new law, that interfered with the right which the people of Ireland have to make laws for themselves," he admits that in 1641, and after, some laws were "made in England to be of force in Ireland."

Of these he shows in some detail, that they were liable in most instances to some qualifying consideration, by means of which the precedent would be destroyed. They were repealed by the Irish Parliament, which, in such case, would show that they did not bind the Irish legislature, or they were made in times of such flagrant confusion and disorganization of Ireland, as to be justified by the *necessity* of the times; a point which involves a primary principle, which Molyneux does not appear to have contemplated;* or they were virtually English laws which had a secondary effect on Irish trade with or through England, but further had no force in Ireland. The Acts of Charles II., namely, the Navigation Act, and two prohibiting the exportation of Irish wool, he admits to be exceptions to his argument, but denies that they are rightful enactments.

Mr Molyneux next and last arrives at his own time. In the remainder of the discussion, there is little on which we have not had occasion to dilate.

Mr Molyneux cites several instances of acts in the reign of William III., of the English parliament comprehending Ireland in their provisions, and which met with unquestioning obedience. On the question, how far such instances might be regarded as precedent, involving a right, he meets the several cases with arguments mostly the same as those already adverted to in the more ancient instances. Either the necessity arising from the state of the kingdom, or the implied consent of Irish representations, or the consent, *sub silentio*, of the Irish legislature, to laws enacted seasonably in England for the evident benefit of Ireland. On these cases we may also repeat our observation, that in a state of the kingdom uniformly marked by the want of systematic precision in the definition of its legislative and executive departments, and of which the civil organization was so incomplete and immature, precedents must be viewed as of little or no authority. The authority of precedent involves the principle of a certain system of laws and authorities, of which they are assumed to be the true result in certain contingencies: without this a precedent is itself no better than an accident. The whole history of Ireland is, from the very beginning to the date of this memoir, a succession of irregular processes and workings. There was, properly speaking, no theory: the question always should have been simply, what was the existing law—what were the rights of the kingdom by concession, treaty, or authoritative declaration of an acknowledged power in the state? On this general principle, we agree with Mr Molyneux, that such cases do not in any way involve a right; and the more so, as a great and overwhelming preponderance of cases can be brought to confirm the ordinary recognition of an opposite right. So far as there was

* The political necessity thus admitted, appears to reopen the entire question, and place it on other grounds; such, indeed, as to make the entire of the preceding argument a mere exercise in special pleading. Such a necessity might be established from the conquest to the union.

a constitutional system, it excluded the right of the English parliament to legislate for Ireland.

The same conclusion may be made with regard to any inferences from certain analogous questions, which he entertains, so far as they can be admitted to have any bearing on the question. It is inferred by Molyneux, that Coke's opinion that an English act of parliament should be held binding in Ireland, was derived from his notion of the subordination of the king's bench in Ireland, to that in England; and this subordination seemed to be apparent, from the fact of a writ of error lying from the former to the latter. The practice is admitted, and its origin inquired into by Molyneux. He first notices the opinion of many Irish lawyers of his time, that these writs originated in an express act of the Irish parliament, "lost amongst a great many other acts which we want, for the space of 130 years at one time, and of 120 at another time;" to which he adds, "but it being only a general tradition, that there was such an act of our parliament, we only offer it as a surmise, the statute itself does not appear." Secondly, "When," says Mr Molyneux, "a judgment in Ireland is removed, to be reversed in England, the judges in England ought, and always do, judge according to the laws and customs of Ireland, and not according to the laws and customs of England, any otherwise than they may be of force in Ireland." Now, this is surely in itself conclusive; because it contains a direct exclusion of the right of the English parliament. The fact of a judgment being reversed, on the ground of English law, as such, would, it must be admitted, be a direct affirmation of the binding power of the English legislature. This important rule Molyneux confirms, by proper citations of cases, and concludes that the "jurisdiction of the king's bench in England, over a judgment of the king's bench in Ireland, does not proceed from any subordination of one kingdom to the other, but from some other reason." This reason he conjectures, and his conjecture is curious and interesting.

The want of skill in the interpretation of English laws, which had been largely adopted in Ireland, rendered the assistance of the English judges necessary from time to time, and "occasional messages to England, before judgment given in Ireland, to be performed of the law." The effect of such a custom would be obviously to lead the still more anxious reference of the litigants to the same source of authority, as well as afford a strong and warrantable ground to the losing party to question the soundness of the decision of an Irish judge. Accordingly, Mr Molyneux goes on to state that, "after decrees made, persons who thought themselves aggrieved by erroneous judgments applied themselves to the king of England for redress." And "thus," says Molyneux, "it must be, that writs of error (unless they had their sanction in parliament) became in use." The process is at least natural, and more likely than any other depending on conjecture. The objection to this, drawn from the previous conclusion, that the judgment was finally according to Irish, and not English law, is nugatory, for it admits the point in question; but it is enough to recollect that the common law of England was, with slight exceptions and modifications, law in Ireland, by various charters of ancient kings, as well as enactments of the Irish parlia-

ments. On this question Mr Molyneux also draws an argument, from the fact that in writs of error suit is made to the *king only*. We need not dilate on so obvious a point.

We may observe here, that in this inference from writs of error, two distinct arguments are involved;—first, the analogy whereby the subordination of the parliament is inferred from that of the court. This is clearly replied to by the affirmation that the appeal lies to the king. The other is, that the authority of the English court must needs involve that of the enactments of the English legislature, and is met by the reply, that the judgment was still according to Irish law, while the practice is accounted for by the fact, that numerous English laws had been at several times made law in Ireland, with the consent, or by the will of the Irish legislature.

Mr Molyneux concludes his argument by replying to several miscellaneous objections: into these it is unnecessary to proceed. Some of them are but repetitions of points already noticed; some are frivolous; some merely resting on, and resisted by, the absurdities of old political theories, as to the rights of nations or of mankind. We shall merely enumerate them here.—England's title, on the consideration of money spent in the reduction of the country; the right of England to bind by force any country which may injure its trade; the fact that Ireland is a colony from England. Such are the remaining objections; which contain no force, and admit, therefore, little reply. We shall only remark, that Mr Molyneux finally opposes to the doctrine of legislative dependence, the strict provisions of Poyning's act, which would be a "needless caution, if the king and parliament of England had power at any time to revoke or annul such proceedings."

In 1782, this subject was renewed in a spirited debate in the Irish house of commons—a debate in which Grattan, Flood, Langrishe, and other eminent Irishmen, whose names are yet on the tongues of living men, bore a remarkable part. We shall have, therefore, to look again on the subject, and, as well as we can, recall the circumstances in a more interesting aspect. Mr Molyneux was actuated by a pure sentiment of patriotism, and we believe his true feelings on the occasion are justly expressed in his preface, in which he tells the reader "how unconcerned I am in any of those particular inducements, which might seem at this juncture to have occasioned the following discourse." "I have not any concern in wool or the wool trade. I am no ways interested in the forfeitures or grants. I am not at all solicitous whether the bishop or the society of Derry recover the land they contest about."

The pamphlet excited a vast sensation on its appearance. The English house of commons was infuriated by an argument which seemed to be an attack on their authority, and in their inconsiderate heat passed a resolution, "that the book published by Mr Molyneux was of dangerous tendency to the crown and people of England, by denying the authority of the king and parliament of England to bind the kingdom and people of Ireland, and the subordination and dependence that Ireland had, and ought to have, upon England, as being united and annexed to the imperial crown of England." They presented an address to king William, who felt himself compelled to give

way to the impulse of the moment, and promise to enforce the laws which bound the Irish parliament. But the animosity of their excitement is more clearly indicated by the fact, that they ordered the offending pamphlet to be burned by the hangman.

That such proceedings were not altogether a surprise to the author, may be collected from a paragraph in his first preface, in which he writes, "I have heard it said, that perhaps I might run some hazard in attempting the argument; but I am not at all apprehensive of any such danger. We are in a miserable condition, indeed, if we may not be allowed to complain when we think we are hurt," &c.

The pamphlet received several replies, and was generally received with a strong sensation of favour or hostility by the Irish public. It was at the time not quite unseasonable. The violent effects of a long and destructive revolution had left a collapse upon the public mind, which in Ireland has often been the effect of over excitement, so that the calm was as likely to prove fatal as the storm. Insubordination is the precursor and parent of servility; and the sentiments of terror, and vindictive memory of suffering and wrongs, too naturally subside into the disposition to find safety and revenge in oppression.

There was a strong friendship between Molyneux and Locke, in whose essay on the human understanding his name has the honour to be mentioned as "that very ingenious and studious promoter of real knowledge," in a manner which shows the high and intimate correspondence on questions then of the utmost literary interest, which existed between him and that great and truly illustrious philosopher. The problem there mentioned as coming from Molyneux, is necessarily trite to every academical reader; but as our circle comprehends a larger compass, we shall extract it here, as giving a higher notion of intellectual power than can be conveyed on any political topic. The design of Mr Locke is to explain and illustrate his proposition, that the ideas of sensation are often changed by the judgment; or, in other words, that a large class of ideas, which are supposed to be pure sensations, are by habit compounded from our knowledge of the reality of things, and our sensations. The following is the illustration:—"Suppose a man born blind, and now adult, and taught by his touch to distinguish between a cube and a sphere of the same metal, and nighly of the same bigness, so as to tell when he felt the one and the other, which is the cube and which is the sphere. Suppose, then, the cube and sphere placed on a table, and the blind man to be made to see. Query, whether by his sight before he touched them, he could now distinguish and tell which is the globe, which the cube?" To which the acute and judicious proposer answers,—“Not; for though he has obtained the experience of how a globe, how a cube affects his touch, yet he has not yet attained the experience, that that which affects his touch so or so, must affect his sight so or so; or that a protuberant angle in the cube that pressed his hand unequally, shall appear to his eye as it does in the cube.” “I agree,” continues Locke, “with this thinking gentleman, whom I am proud to call my friend, in his answer to this, his problem.”* This problem involves the entire

* Locke's Essay, b. 11, c. 9, § 8.

theory of the chapter in which it occurs, and if there had been no previous communication on the subject, indicates an uncommon range of accurate thought. There appears to have indeed been a remarkable similarity of intellectual constitution between Molyneux and his illustrious friend. A fact, less to the honour of both, displays a striking coincidence. Speaking of Blackmore's poetry, in a letter to Locke, Molyneux writes, "All our English poets, except Milton, have been ballad-makers to him." To which Locke replies, "I find, with pleasure, a strange harmony throughout, between your thoughts and mine."

As was then usual in the world of letters, this correspondence originated and continued long without any meeting having taken place. On the occasion of his celebrated pamphlet, Molyneux expressed a great anxiety to meet and consult with Locke. He crossed over to England in the year 1698, and remained some months, when he had the happiness of becoming personally intimate with his honoured correspondent. On his departure, another meeting was concerted for the following spring. But his health was frail, and his constitution broken by one of the most terrible diseases to which the human frame is liable. Soon after his return, a fit of the stone led to the eruption of a blood-vessel, of which he died in two days, October 11th, 1698. His interment took place in St Andrew's church, where there is a monument and Latin inscription.

Richard Coote, Earl of Bellamont.

DIED A. D. 1700.

ON the restoration, when Sir Charles Coote was created earl of Mountrath for his eminent services to the king; his brother, Richard, who had taken an equally active part in bringing about this happy event, was created baron Coote of Colooney. His son, Richard, the subject of our present memoir, was returned member of parliament for Droitwich, in Worcestershire, in 1688, but was attainted the following year in one held by James II., in Dublin, in consequence of his unequivocal support of the prince of Orange, being one of the first of his adherents who joined him publicly. He was appointed treasurer and receiver-general to the queen, and governor of the county of Leitrim, and was advanced by patent, in the same year, to the dignity of earl of Bellamont.

In the beginning of 1695, he was nominated governor of New York, which was then in a state of the most perfect misrule; smugglers and pirates setting the laws at defiance, and moral profligacy increasing in an exact proportion to their neglect. The inducements to accept of such a governorship must have been small, or rather the temptation to reject it great; but lord Bellamont's concurrence was at once secured by the terms in which the king couched the offer. He told him he considered him "a man of resolution and integrity, and with those qualifications, more likely than any other he could think of, to put a stop to that illegal trade, and to the growth of piracy; for which reason he made choice of him for that government, and for the same reason intended to put the government of New England into his

hands.*" The earl, in conversing with colonel Levingston, knowing that he had had various employments in the province, discussed the subject at great length, and expressed his determination to put down both practices in the most summary manner, and with the strong arm of the law. The colonel suggested his engaging the services of captain William Kid, who had lately arrived from that country in a trading vessel of his own, and who was well known to colonel Levingston as a person of great shrewdness, activity, and resource, an excellent sailor, and well acquainted with the habits and haunts of the pirates. He proposed that he should be given the command of one of the king's ships of about thirty guns, with an hundred and fifty men, and that he should be invested with ample powers to hunt out and exterminate the offenders.

Lord Bellamont at once communicated the project to the king, who consulted the admiralty upon the subject; but the pressing need there was of ships for carrying on the war, joined to the uncertainty of the undertaking, and the great distance at which it was to be performed, determined them to reject the proposition.

Colonel Levingston, however, whose mind was heated upon the subject, was not to be discouraged, and he accordingly stated to the earl, that if persons of consideration and property could be induced to join in the expense of fitting out a vessel, that he, from his high opinion of Kid's capability and integrity, would become a guarantee for the safe return of the vessel, and his fidelity in the execution of the trust reposed in him. He also expressed his willingness that he and Kid should be at the fifth part of the expense, and reiterated his conviction as to the ultimate success of the project.

On these offers being communicated to the king, he at once acceded to them, and in expressing his high approval of the undertaking, promised a free grant to the adventurers, of all Kid's captures, with the exception of a small reservation, to mark his being a partner to the expedition. On this sanction, the chancellor, along with lords Romney, Shrewsbury, and Oxford, advanced £6000, with which the galley was quickly fitted out; and on the 10th December, Kid received a commission from the admiral as a private man-of-war, to act against the French, and another under the great seal, authorizing him to pursue, take, and bring to instant trial, all pirates and sea-robbers, whom he might meet with infesting the seas.

He sailed from London in February, 1695, and his employers received no intelligence of, or from him, for three years: when at length the East India Company learned through their factors, that in place of attacking and suppressing the pirates, he had become one of their body, and that he had recently seized a Moorish vessel, called the *Quedah Merchant*, in which there were goods of immense value. The disappointment of the adventurers was great, but particularly of Levingston, who felt his own character in some degree compromised by the treacherous deception practised by Kid, for whose success and honesty he stood pledged. In the year following, the president and council of Nevis announced to the Secretary of State, that Kid had returned into the American seas, after which he had sailed to Rhode Island; when,

* Lodge.

either touched by remorse for his perfidious conduct, or calculating on the probability of his ultimately falling into the hands of the governor, he wished to secure the only chance there existed of obtaining pardon for the past, by voluntarily coming forward, pleading innocence, and delivering up his prize laden with booty, as a warrant for his good faith. He accordingly sent an emissary to the earl of Bellamont, to Boston, informing him that he had brought the Quedah Merchant, which he had taken in the Indian seas, and which contained goods of great value, into a creek on the coast of Hispaniola. He also brought additional goods to the amount of £10,000, in a sloop in which he sailed himself, hoping to make terms with the governor, and stating that he could bring forward credible witnesses to prove his innocence.

The earl, satisfied of his guilt, but anxious to get him into his power, after consulting with his council, wrote him a letter, assuring him that if he could make his innocence clear, he need have no apprehension in coming to Boston. Kid accordingly landed on the 1st of June, and was examined before lord Bellamont and the council. His answers to the charges against him were unsatisfactory and evasive, and served rather to criminate than clear him. The earl accordingly committed him, and the most guilty portion of his crew into close custody, and had the goods assigned to the care of agents appointed by the council, prudently declining to take any personal charge of them.

He was indefatigable in his efforts to trace and recover Kid's concealed booty, a great portion of which was at length secured, while a statement of the entire transaction was forwarded to the Secretary of State and Council of Trade, requesting that an immediate order might be sent for the transmission of the prisoners to England, as the laws in America did not admit of their being brought to capital punishment.

Kid was accordingly sent to London, in April, 1700, and examined before the lords of the Admiralty, after which he was committed to Newgate, and kept in close confinement. In the spring following, the House of Commons undertook the investigation of the business, and after a very long debate upon the question, whether "a grant passed under the great seal of England to Richard, earl of Bellamont and others, of all the goods and other things which should be taken by Kid from Thomas Too, John Ireland, and others, in the said grant mentioned, as pirates, before their conviction, is illegal and void, it passed in the negative."*

Lord Bellamont died at New York, March 5th, 1700, and left two sons who were successive earls of Bellamont. The General Assembly, who were sitting at Boston when the account of his death arrived, immediately published a proclamation through the province, ordering that a general fast should be observed, to express their deep sense of the public calamity inflicted by his death, and of their veneration for his high and unblemished character.

His wife, Catharine, daughter and heiress to Bridges Nanson, Esq. of Bridgemorton, survived him, and is stated by Lodge, to have given birth to her first son before she was twelve years of age, and to have married her fourth husband in her seventy-second year, which was also the year of her death.

* Lodge.

Sir Faithful Fortescue.

SIR Faithful Fortescue was lineally descended from that Sir John Fortescue, (chief justice to Henry VI.,) whom Raleigh calls "that notable bulwark of our laws," and inherited the same devoted loyalty which distinguished his ancestor. He removed into Ireland early in the reign of James I., and commanded a regiment of horse under his uncle the lord-deputy, by whom he was knighted; and in November 1606, was made joint governor of Carrickfergus, with Roger Langford, Esq.* He acquired extensive property in the counties of Down, Louth, and Antrim, besides Dromiskin castle within ten miles of Drogheda. He also purchased from Rory Oge MacQuillane, an estate in the Lower Claneboy and county of Antrim, (which had been granted to Rory by patent,) and which Sir Faithful also wished to hold by the same tenure. The king accordingly granted him a patent to hold the lands *in capite*, directly from himself, "by the twentieth part of a knight's fee, and the rent of £5 Irish; he to find two horsemen and six footmen well appointed for war, whenever called thereunto by the chief-governor of Ireland, or by the governor of Carrickfergus, for his majesty's service in the province of Ulster."† In the same year, he was permitted to impark in this manor 1000 acres. He was appointed by the lord-deputy Wentworth, who held him in high estimation, to inspect the king's stores and garrisons in Leinster, and to make an accurate report of their supplies, and state of defence.

When the rebellion broke out, his life was in imminent danger, and it was with difficulty he escaped from the surrounding massacre. When, however, after many dangers, he at length arrived in England, he solicited employment in the Irish war, and was appointed to the command of a troop destined for that country. Full of martial valour, and of devoted attachment to the king, his heart was sickened at finding himself entangled in the trammels of the parliament; his troop, along with many others, being pressed into their service. He was appointed major to Sir William Waller's regiment. Waiting only for an opportunity, at the battle of Edgehill he determined to free himself from its detested yoke. He watched for the moment when the king's troops were about to make a charge, and having previously instructed his own, he impetuously rushed forward; when within little more than "a carabine's shot of his own body," he and his followers, discharging their pistols on the ground, joined prince Rupert, and suddenly wheeled round to the dismay of their former associates." "Whether," says the historian, "this sudden accident, as it might very well, and they not knowing how many more were of the same mind, each man looking upon his companion with the same apprehension as upon the enemy, or whether the terror of prince Rupert and the king's horse, or altogether with their own evil consciences, wrought upon them, I know not; but that the whole wing, having unskilfully discharged their carabines and pistols into the air, wheeled about, the king's horse

* Lodge.

† Ibid.

charging in the flank and rear, and having thus absolutely routed them, pursued them flying, and had the execution of them above two miles. So that this disorder of their cavalry, occasioned by the going-over of Sir Faithful Fortescue with his troop, must have been fatal to the earl of Essex and his army, if prince Rupert had shown as much conduct as courage."

Sir Faithful remained in England for some years, and continued a steady supporter of the king's cause until after his death. Cromwell was then glad to secure the services of a character of such known fidelity, and of such high and general estimation, and induced him to accept the command of a regiment of horse, which was then preparing to embark for Ireland. The parliament, however, was not destined to profit long by that fidelity, as it again reverted to its more legitimate object. At the battle of Worcester, he assisted Charles II. with this very regiment, and fled with the discomfited monarch to France. At the restoration, he was made a gentleman of the privy chamber, attending his majesty's person, and was so much esteemed by him, that he never suffered him to leave him during the remaining period of his life. His person was strikingly handsome, and his manners prepossessing. He married twice; his first wife, Anne, who was daughter to Gerald, lord viscount Drogheda, brought him sixteen children. His second wife was Ellinor Symonds, a widow.

His grandson, William Fortescue of Newrath, in the county of Louth, was the ancestor of the Clermont family, and took a prominent position during the troubles of James's reign. Having been appointed in 1688 to the command of the town of Bandon, he, with a comparatively small force, repulsed from its gates lord Clancarty's newly reinforced army, attacked and conquered all the Irish out-posts, and after a sharp and bloody contest, remained master of the town, where he immediately proclaimed William and Mary as its rightful sovereigns. This conquest, however, cost him dear; for, when the town had subsequently to surrender, lord Clancarty took a mean and malignant revenge, not only on himself and his property, but also on the unoffending members of his family. In perfidious disregard of the articles of surrender, which had been additionally confirmed by king James on his landing, he confined captain Fortescue in the jail of Cork for eleven months, among thieves and felons; and, during this period, selected the companies out of his army, who had been previously disarmed by him in Bandon, to sack, burn, and destroy his house and property in the county of Louth; they too faithfully fulfilled the savage injunctions; for, having burned his dwelling and stripped his children, they left them so miserably exposed, that they quickly fell victims to the inhuman treatment they had experienced. In 1681, he married Margaret, only daughter of Nicholas Gernon, by whom he left seven children.

Robert, First Viscount Molesworth.

BORN A. D. 1655—DIED A. D. 1725.

THE family of Molesworth had attained wealth and distinction during the reigns of the Plantagenets, and Sir Walter accompanied Edward I. to the Holy Land, to which circumstance there is an allusion in his coat of arms. Robert was a posthumous child, and his father appears to have been one of the first of the family who settled in Ireland. He was accordingly brought up by his mother, and her parents, of whom she was the last surviving child out of twenty-one. He received his education in Dublin college, and was remarkable for his literary attainments, and high and independent character. In 1688, when the prince of Orange entered England, he immediately joined him, and was one of his most zealous and devoted adherents. He was consequently attainted the following year by king James's parliament, and his estate, of near £3000 a-year, sequestrated. On the accession of William, however, he was reinstated; and that monarch, having a personal regard for him, and a high opinion of his political powers, nominated him a member of his privy council, and afterwards sent him as envoy extraordinary to the court of Denmark, where he resided for several years. He there wrote his *History of Denmark*, besides several other works, which were suited to the politics of the period, and were highly estimated, both for their eloquence and the forcible line of reasoning by which his opinions were sustained and established.

In the succeeding reign he became a member of the privy council, and was valued and respected by all parties for his high talents, and incorruptible integrity. His second son, Richard, who subsequently inherited the title, had the honour of saving the life of the duke of Marlborough at the battle of Ramillies. He had been intended by his father for the bar, and was sent to finish his studies at the temple; but being of a very ardent temperament, and loathing the life of inaction to which he was destined, he secured the services of a faithful servant, disposed of his books, and set sail for Flanders, where he served as a volunteer, until the earl of Orkney, who was a particular friend of his father, gave him, in 1702, a commission. His own merit and active services during the war, obtained for him a troop of horse, and he was also appointed aide-de-camp to the duke of Marlborough. On the day of the battle he distinguished himself by many acts of personal daring, and was foremost in accompanying the duke into every post of danger. Various statements have been made of the circumstances connected with the imminent peril, and providential escape of the duke, on that day. Lodge gives an extract from a letter which he says was authenticated by lord Molesworth himself, and which describes both with great accuracy. It is as follows:—"As for the particular account you so earnestly desire of me, I here send it to you, word for word, as related to me by lord Molesworth himself, having carefully taken it down from a conversation that lately passed between us. He introduced his story, by observing that this remark-

able fact, however evident in all its circumstances, was very industriously hushed up in the army; which, he said, was the easier done, because he himself was quite silent upon it.

"He then proceeded to a short description of one particular circumstance of the field of battle, as necessary to my understanding the following relation, and informed me, that from the river Mehaigne, which covered the right flank of the French army and the left of our's, to the village of Ramillies, which was about the centre of the two lines, the ground was firm, plain, and open; in short, fit for cavalry to act upon; that from Ramillies to the enemy's left, and our right, the ground, on the contrary, was low, marshy, and cut through by many ditches and streams, not easily passable by either army in the face of the other. That the enemy, who had long been acquainted with this ground, and well saw the advantage to be made of its situation, had extremely strengthened their right wing of horse, not only with numbers, but with their choicest troops; with which having attacked our cavalry on the left, whom they greatly out-numbered, they soon obliged them to give ground in great confusion, their line following in great order. He said, that the duke of Marlborough perceiving this, and apprehending the consequence of the disorder, if not timely remedied, commanded some battalions of foot to advance, and properly post themselves for stopping the enemy; despatched an aide-de-camp to our right wing with orders for a considerable reinforcement of English and other cavalry, to be sent from thence to the left; and, in the meantime, judging it necessary to keep the enemy at bay; after he had, with great trouble and fatigue, rallied the disordered squadrons, he put himself at the head of them, and led them to the enemy. And here it was, that our advanced squadrons being repulsed and in great confusion, some of the run-aways, quite blinded by their fear, rode against the duke, who was leading up the other squadrons to sustain them; jostled him off his horse, and rode over him; at which time the remaining body of horse likewise fled, and left the duke lying on the field with none near him but captain Molesworth, then one of his aides-de-camp; who, perceiving not only the enemy's line to advance upon him, but besides, a small body that had detached itself from the line as for a pursuit, saw that the duke must inevitably fall into their hands, unless he could find the means of getting him off, in which not a moment was to be lost. The duke's horse, when he was thrust off him, had run away beyond the line; nothing therefore remained for captain Molesworth to do, but the mounting him, if possible, on his, which he at last effected, but with difficulty; for, when the duke was rode over, some horse had trod on his stomach, so that he lay upon the ground almost senseless, and could very little help himself. The captain, however, got his Grace into the saddle, put the rein in his hand, and turning the horse's head to our line, entreated his Grace to push him that way with his utmost speed, as he accordingly did; but had not cleared the ground above three minutes before the above-mentioned detachment came up full speed over the spot, so eager in pursuit of the duke, whom they had certainly singled out, that the captain then had the good fortune to escape their notice.

"By this time the duke had got within some of our battalions of foot,

and the pursuers pressing pretty close upon the most advanced among them, which was the regiment of Albemarle Swiss; that regiment gave them their platoons very handsomely, and soon sent them back the same way, somewhat faster than they had come on; however, they now thought fit to pay the captain a little more respect than they had done before, and honoured him, as they went by, with a few strokes of their broadswords; but so luckily, that he came off with only carrying their black marks about his shoulders for some time after.

"The regiment of Albemarle, he said, continued firing to the front as long as they thought they might do any damage to the enemy, of whom they dropt a good number to the right and left of him; but upon the first suspension of fire and smoke, he made them all the signal he could, of being a friend, and then went into that battalion, where he was received with great friendship and some surprise by colonel Constant, who said that he was equally rejoiced and wondered at his escape, and that he doubted not but he should soon see him at the head of a regiment.

"He then told him that the duke had got between the lines, and had gone towards the centre. While the captain was making his way as well as he could, on foot, he, by chance, met with a foreign soldier holding the duke's horse by the bridle; who, upon his claiming the horse, and giving him a patacoon, immediately resigned him, and then the captain, mounting that horse, pursued his way in quest of his Grace.

"He found him upon a rising ground fronting the village of Ramillies, with a number of general officers and others about him, to whom he was distributing his orders; and when he saw the captain, he said, he hoped he was not hurt.

"The captain, soon after, observing that his horse, which the duke still mounted, was a little unquiet, showed him his own, and said, *that* might probably prove less troublesome to him; upon which his Grace shifting back to his own horse, and colonel Bringfield, his first *écuyer*, holding his stirrup, the enemy, just at that time, discharged a battery from the village of Ramillies, which came amongst the group of us, and one of the balls, after grazing, rose under the horse's belly, and took Mr Bringfield in the head;" in other words, shot his head off, and, as it is elsewhere stated, stunned the duke.

The captain's father, the subject of our present memoir, became the object of party jealousy in the latter end of queen Anne's reign, and was removed from the privy council in consequence of a complaint from the lower House, charging him with saying, in the presence-chamber, the previous day, that "They that have turned the world upside down, are come hither also;" and he was besides accused of affronting the clergy in convocation, when they presented their address in favour of the lord-chancellor Phibbs.

Being always a stanch supporter of the claims and principles of the house of Hanover, George I. appointed him a member of his privy council in Ireland, and a commissioner of trade and plantations. He also advanced him to the peerage by the titles of baron of Philipstown and viscount Molesworth of Swords, and accordingly, in 1719, he took his seat in the House of Lords. His zealous and indefatigable atten-

tion to public affairs gradually impaired his health, and he wisely resolved to withdraw from the scene of turmoil, and to spend the remaining years of his life in the bosom of his family, and the enjoyment of those literary tastes he had so highly cultivated. A very limited period, however, was all that was granted for the fulfilment of these hopes and plans: he died in the course of two years, at the age of sixty-nine, and was buried at Swords. His wife was Letitia, third daughter of Richard, lord Colooney, and sister to the earl of Bellamont. She brought him seven sons and four daughters. Two of his sons succeeded each other in the title, one of whom was the captain Molesworth alluded to above. His widow and several members of his family met with an awful fate—being burned to death in 1763. Lord Molesworth left fifty pounds towards the building of a church in Philipstown.

Arthur Dillon.

DIED A. D. 1732.

ARTHUR DILLON was the third son of the seventh viscount of that name, who was a colonel in the army of king James, and suffered much from his adherence to that monarch; his wife, a daughter of Sir Henry Talbot, of Mount Talbot, in the county of Roscommon, having been killed in Limerick, during the siege, by the second bomb thrown into the town, and he himself outlawed in 1690.

The outlawry, however, was reversed by the Court of King's Bench; in 1697, after his death, and his son Richard was summoned to parliament as a peer of the realm.

Arthur, of whom we now write, entered early into the service of France, and commanded an Irish regiment there before he was twenty. In 1705, he was made a *mareschal de camp*, was governor of Toulon, and distinguished himself in so many engagements, that he was looked up to as one of the first generals of his time. His soldiers loved and venerated him, and followed him with enthusiasm, while the military commanders of his period bore ample testimony to his skill and valour in the field.

He married Christiana, daughter of Ralph Sheldon, Esq., by whom he had five sons and three daughters. The sons inherited their father's valour and military talents, and two of them fell in the service of the French king, who so highly appreciated their devoted zeal, that he declared he would not give the command of the regiment in which they served to any who did not bear their name, and it was thenceforward distinguished by the title of the Dillon regiment.

His two elder sons became successive viscounts, inheriting the family title from their uncle; and his youngest son, who entered the church, was made archbishop of Thoulouse, and subsequently of Narbonne, primate of Gaul, and president of the states of Languedoc.*

He died himself in 1732.

* Lodge.

Almericus de Courcy, Baron Kingsale.

BORN A. D. 1664—DIED A. D. 1719.

ALMERICUS, the twenty-third baron, succeeded his brother Patrick when he was but five years old. He became a great favourite with Charles II., who granted him a pension of £300 a-year, which was continued to him in the following reign. He served in the army of James, first commanding an independent troop of horse, and afterwards as lieutenant-colonel of the earl of Lucan's regiment, for which he was outlawed in 1691; but the outlawry was soon after reversed.

Under these circumstances, it may seem strange that he should be the first personally to assert the privilege to which his family lay claim, of remaining with the head covered in the presence of royalty. We have already related the traditional origin of this privilege, in the memoir of the first De Courcy who settled in this country.* "Almericus," says Lodge, "being very handsome in person, and of a tall stature, his lordship one day attended king William's court, and being admitted into the presence-chamber, asserted the privilege of being covered before his majesty, by walking to and fro with his hat upon his head. The king observing this, sent one of his nobles to inquire the reason of his appearing before him with his head covered; to whom he replied, he very well knew in whose presence he stood, and the reason why he wore his hat that day, was, because he stood before the king of England. This answer being told the king, and his lordship approaching nearer the throne, he was required by his majesty to explain himself, which he did to this effect:—'May it please your majesty, my name is Courcy, and I am lord of Kingsale, in your kingdom of Ireland. The reason of my appearing covered in your majesty's presence, is to assert the ancient privilege of my family, granted to Sir John de Courcy, earl of Ulster, and his heirs, by John, king of England, for him and his successors for ever.' The king replied, that he remembered he had such a nobleman, and believed the privilege he asserted to be his right; and, giving him his hand to kiss, his lordship paid his obeysance, and remained uncovered."

He died, February, 1719, without leaving any issue by his lady, who survived him, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. He was succeeded in his title and estates by his cousin Gerald, the son of Miles de Courcy, third son of Patrick, the twentieth lord. This Patrick married a daughter of John Fitz-Gerald of Dromana, in the county of Waterford, when she was but fourteen, and had by her twenty-three children. On the visit of George IV. to Ireland, this privilege was again claimed, and again recognised.

* See Part II. page 319.

Richard Fitz-Patrick, Lord Gowran.

DIED A. D. 1727.

THE subject of our present memoir, was the son of John Fitz-Patrick, Esq. of Castletown, and of Elizabeth, daughter of the lord viscount Thurles, and sister to the first duke of Ormonde. Richard early selected the navy as his profession, and in May, 1687, was appointed commander of the Richmond. He signalized himself on various occasions, by his valour and conduct; and was very successful in attacking and keeping in check the French privateers, which had been previously very destructive to our commerce in the German ocean. In 1690, he was promoted to the St Albans, and in the same year attacked a French frigate of thirty-six guns, which, after a severe contest of four hours, he took, with the loss of only four men belonging to his own ship, while the enemy lost forty; they had also the advantage of having fifty fusileers on board, besides two hundred men belonging to the frigate. In the following year, he drove two more of their frigates on shore, and, in conjunction with some other vessels, took fourteen rich merchantmen out of a convoy of twenty-two. He commanded a ship of seventy guns under Sir Cloudesley Shovel, and was detached by him, with several vessels under his command, to attack the Grovais, (one of the islands called Cardinals,) from whence he brought off thirteen thousand head of cattle and horses, besides many of their vessels, and did considerable damage to the property on the island. His elder brother, who had distinguished himself in various military commands from the period of the revolution, was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general, and king William, in consideration of the faithful services of both brothers, granted to them, in 1696, "the estate of Edward Morris, forfeited by his being killed at Aughrim, which consisted of the towns and lands of Grantstown, Donoghmore, Rahindornagh, Barnaballmoragh, Lower-Derry, Belady, the north-east of Derrylaghan, Cramrosse, Maherrbegg, Ballinrawly-wood, called Clanconragh, Mongamore, and others in the queen's county." The general, who was in England, made immediate arrangements to take possession of his new property, but was drowned in crossing the channel the very month after he had obtained the joint nomination to this grant. His brother, Richard, accordingly took possession of the entire, to which he afterwards made large additions, both by purchases, and also by marriage.

On the breaking out of the war in the following reign, he obtained the command of the Ranelagh of eighty guns, and was employed in the expedition against Cadiz, and also took part in the attack on Vigo. He shortly after retired from the service; and on the accession of George I., was raised to the peerage, with the title of baron Gowran. He was a zealous supporter of the protestant succession and interests, and was as remarkable in private life for his amiability and unswerving integrity, as he was in his profession, for valour and humanity.

In 1718, he married Anne, daughter and co-heiress of Sir John

Robinson of Farmingwood, in the county of Northampton, by whom he had two sons, the elder of whom was subsequently created earl of Upper Ossory.

He died in 1727.

Sir William Jumper.

DIED A. D. 1715.

AMONG the naval heroes of his time, Sir William Jumper stands high for valour and desert. Charnock says, "few men who have not lived to attain the rank of commanders-in-chief, or at least flag-officers, have ever acquired so much renown as this gentleman." He was born in Bandon, in the county of Cork; and was appointed, by lord Dartmouth, second lieutenant of the *Resolution*, in 1688. He served subsequently in various vessels, and in all obtained credit and distinction. In 1694, he was appointed to the command of the *Weymouth*, a fourth rate, and in the June following, he pursued and took a very large French privateer. In the same month he captured a second, and on the 31st of August, took a third, mounting twenty-eight guns. The captain of this vessel being a man of great courage and determination, and having a large and resolute crew to support him, held out long and desperately, and did not yield till he had thirty men killed, and nearly that number mortally wounded. In 1695, he captured two more privateers, and shortly after, a very large one coming from St Maloes, which, being much superior in size to the *Weymouth*, made a desperate resistance, and only yielded when the loss of masts and men made it impossible to sustain the contest. Similar successes followed with astonishing rapidity; but a domestic affliction awaited him, capable of overshadowing them all. His wife, who remained on board during his stay at Plymouth, was returning to the shore in a small pinnace, when it suddenly overset, and she, and captain Smith of the *Portland*, who accompanied her, were both unhappily drowned.

On recovering from the effects of this awful and unlooked-for calamity, he returned to active service, and the same almost uninterrupted success followed his undertakings; privateers, prizes, and ships of war being successively captured. He was at length appointed to the *Lenox*, which was ordered to serve under Sir George Rooke, in his expedition against Cadiz. "In this attack he took a more prominent part than any other naval commander; successfully executing the arduous services intrusted to him, with the most spirited address." In the subsequent brilliant successes of the confederates, he was an active participator. Sir George had scarcely left Cadiz, on his return home, when, as we have already related, he received intelligence that a most valuable fleet of Spanish galleons had put into Vigo, together with their escort, commanded by that well-known officer, Mons. Chateau Renaud. Sir George, in conjunction with the duke of Ormonde, instantly resolved on attempting the capture of the fleet, and they succeeded beyond their most sanguine expectations. In this enterprize captain Jumper took a prominent and active part; the treasure, and

articles of merchandise taken and destroyed on this occasion, amounted to between four and five millions sterling, while the injury sustained by the enemies' ships had never been exceeded unless in the instances of the destruction of the Armada, and the battle off Cape La Hogue. Twenty ships and vessels of war, fifteen of which were of two decks, together with thirteen galleons, were included in the destruction and capture made and effected on this occasion. Captain Jumper was eminently instrumental in the reduction of Gibraltar, and was severely wounded in an engagement off Malaga, where he fought and overcame three of the enemy's ships.

On his return to England, he received the honour of knighthood from queen Anne; but what seems strange, he never changed his ship during a service of many years continuance. On his retirement, however, from the service at a later period, he received a handsome pension. While waiting at Lisbon to convoy the fleet to England, he received intelligence that the garrison at Gibraltar were in a state approaching to mutiny, for want of money, their pay having been for some time necessarily stopped, in consequence of no specie having arrived. He accordingly on his own responsibility, despatched one of the vessels under his command with a supply, and thus probably preserved to the government, that important fortress.

His ship was one of those which accompanied Sir Cloudealey Shovel home in 1707, and while he arrived in safety at Falmouth, on the fatal 22d of October, his less fortunate commander, with two other ships of war, was cast away on the Scilly isles, and drowned, or, as has been recently stated from documents in the possession of the earl of Romney, he was inhumanly and treacherously murdered by a woman, on that island, who many years after confessed the fact on her death-bed, when she produced an emerald ring which she had taken from his finger, and which (with other valuables cast upon the shore) tempted her to the horrid deed. The ring is at present in the possession of the earl of Berkeley.

It is believed that Sir William never went to sea again. In 1714 he was appointed commissioner of the navy, resident at Portsmouth, and died the March following.

Sir James Hamilton, First Viscount Strabane.

DIED A. D. 1734.

THE family of Hamilton are amongst the most ancient and distinguished in the kingdom. They are descended from Robert, the first earl of Leicester, who accompanied William the First, from Normandy, and commanded the right wing of his army in the battle of Hastings; after which, William, in dividing the kingdom amongst his followers, gave him no less than ninety-one lordships and manors in the counties of Leicester, Warwick, &c., &c. One of his early descendants took the name of Hamilton or Hambleton, from the place of his birth, which was a manor in the county of Leicestershire.

Sir James, was grandson to Sir George Hamilton, who married the

sister of the duke of Ormonde, and was son to James Hamilton, groom of the bed-chamber to Charles II., to which office his son succeeded at the early age of seventeen. After the accession of James, he became a member of the privy council, and commanded a regiment of horse. On perceiving, however, the king's decided hostility to the protestant cause, and his determination, at all risks, to introduce popery, he resolved at once to sacrifice all personal considerations, and quit his service, rather than compromise those opinions and principles which had been transmitted to him through so many generations, and of which his father had been a strenuous supporter. Unwilling to remain an idle spectator of the important contest which was then in progress, he entered into the service of William at the period of the revolution, and carried arms and ammunition, as has been before related, to the relief of Londonderry, when besieged by the army of king James; it so happened, that his uncle Richard Hamilton, who was then a lieutenant-general, was one of the assailants, and did every thing in his power to aggravate the sufferings of the besieged. Providentially, the supplies brought by captain Hamilton enabled the city to hold out until the arrival of general Kirke, when the siege was raised. After his grandfather's death, he refused to assume the title of baronet; but in the year 1700, was obliged to bear a superior one from the earldom of Abercorn devolving upon him, as next heir to earl Charles, the last male branch of Claud, first earl of Strabane, who was second son of James, the first earl of Abercorn. He was the sixth that enjoyed this honour; to preserve which he went to Scotland in 1706, and sat in that parliament which concluded the union between the two kingdoms, now called Great Britain.*

William nominated him a member of his privy council; and farther, to mark his sense of his services, created him baron of Mountcastle, and viscount of Strabane, by which titles he sat in the Irish parliament, September, 1703, which was the first summoned to meet by queen Anne, of whose privy council he was a member. He was selected in 1709, to draw up an address of condolence on the death of prince George of Denmark, and another of congratulation to the queen for her great successes abroad. He was a member of the privy council in the two succeeding reigns, and a zealous opponent of the claims of the Pretender. In 1686 he married Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Sir Robert Reading, bart., by whom he had nine sons and five daughters. He died in 1734.

Sir Eyre Coote.

BORN A. D. 1726.—DIED A. D. 1783.

EYRE COOTE, youngest son of Chidley Coote, D.D. of Ash-hill, in the county of Limerick, early embraced the military profession; and there is reason to believe that he was employed in active service during the rebellion of 1745, when he could have been only nineteen. In the

* Lodge.

beginning of the year 1754, he embarked for the East Indies, and his name is honourably mentioned in the despatches of admiral Watson, when, after describing the warm bombardment of the forts of Calcutta, he states that the enemy was compelled to retire, and that captain Coote of the king's troops landed and took possession.* Sir Eyre, who then held the rank of captain, on the arrival of colonel Clive, had to yield the command; but in valour, skill, and energy, still retained his superiority. He assisted in taking several forts of importance; and, at the battle of Plassey, held a prominent and responsible position, and eminently contributed to the success of that distinguished day. After attaining the rank of colonel, he invested and took Wandemash, repulsed the attack of the French troops, who attempted to retake it, and, pursuing his advantage, completely routed and dispersed them, when they fled in dismay, with their discomfited leader to Pondicherry. In November of the same year, 1760, he laid siege to that important place, which contained a garrison of 1400 European soldiers, and was well calculated to make a long and successful resistance. It however yielded, in less than two months, to his persevering and well-directed attacks, and by this decisive and unexpected blow, he completely demolished the remaining power and ascendancy of the French in India. The town contained an immense quantity of military stores and treasure of all descriptions; and the Court of Directors were so strongly impressed with the value of the acquisition, and the importance of his services, that on his return to England in the ensuing year, they presented him with a diamond hilted-sword, which cost seven hundred pounds, as a mark of their gratitude and respect.

Having been appointed commander-in-chief of the East India Company's forces, he went to Madras in 1770. He did not, however, remain there long, but proceeded to Bussorah, in consequence, it was supposed, of a dispute which occurred between him and the governor of Madras. He shortly after returned to England, overland, when he was invested with the order of the Bath, and afterwards obtained the colonelcy of the 37th regiment, with the governorship of Fort George in Scotland. A life of inaction being uncongenial to his martial spirit, and the value and importance of his presence and services in India being too well understood by the government, to allow him to remain long unemployed, he was on the death of general Clavering, appointed a member of the supreme council of Bengal, and commander of the British forces in India.

On Hyder Ali assuming a menacing deportment and invading the Carnatic, general Coote was selected to oppose him, and was sent from Bengal with troops and money to the coast of Coromandel. Previous to his arrival, colonel Baillie had been despatched to check his progress, with three hundred European infantry, several battalions of sepoys, and some artillery; they were, however, nearly all cut to pieces after a brave resistance, and the scattered remnants were taken prisoners. Hyder also took possession of Arcot, and seemed to calculate on universal conquest. At this juncture general Coote arrived, and found the army reduced and dispirited. He revived their

* Ryan's Worthies.

drooping courage, led them on minor enterprises in which success was nearly certain; and when their hope and self-confidence were again renewed, he incited them to seek an encounter with the formidable Hyder himself; thus securing to them the enlivening consciousness of being the attackers, not the attacked, and stimulating them by every incentive, capable of acting on the noble and generous impulses of a British army. Hyder, whose army consisted of "twenty-five battalions of infantry; four hundred Europeans; from forty to fifty thousand horse; and above a hundred thousand match-lock men, Peons and Polygars, with forty-seven pieces of cannon," met his advances, confident of success; and, trusting to his own overwhelming numbers, rushed impetuously forward to meet the advancing foe. Successive onsets were met and repelled, and the British troops kept their ground; confident in their leader, they steadily pursued the course he had prescribed, and battalion upon battalion gave way before them. For eight hours the conflict was sustained on both sides with desperate and persevering obstinacy; Meer Saib, Hyder's favourite general, fell mortally wounded; and, the leading officers of the Sultan's army rushing to supply his place, and avenge his fall, shared the same fate. The soldiers, deprived of their commanders, were slaughtered in immense numbers; so that the proportion of the fallen was, as thousands to hundreds of the British. Victory was no longer doubtful, and Hyder Ali never again recovered his ascendancy. The affairs of India took a different aspect, and succeeding conquests established the supremacy of the British sway.

Sir Eyre continued in India about three years longer, when his health began visibly to decline; his military ardour was, however, undiminished; and though in a very debilitated state, he removed from Calcutta to Madras, to assume the command of the army. The effort was too great, and he died April 24th, 1783, two days after his arrival there. His body was conveyed to England the following year, and was buried in the parish church of Rockwood, in Hampshire.

He married, in 1769, a daughter of Charles Hutchinson, Esq., but left no children; and, his property amounting to £200,000, was inherited by his brother the dean of Kilfenora.

Postscript.

FROM the revolution in 1688, until a period included far within a subsequent division of this work, the constitution of this country appears to have settled slowly and silently, into a more quiet, and more strictly political progress of affairs. The perpetual oscillation of open force between the two great sections of the population, in which sanguinary insurrections and revolutionary plots were succeeded by bloody retaliations, and cruel, though not unjust oppressions and deprivations, subsided into a tempered strife between the same classes under other names, and with different weapons. The acute and violent disorders which had deranged and menaced our existence, became chronic and thus continued to cripple and retard our growth. The ordinary resources of party warfare, such as have ever since been generally

resorted to, then began to be systematically employed. The events from this time became far less marked with the definite outlines and features of individual agency and distinct fact: the roots of affairs which were carried on by secret influence, are in a manner twisted together under the surface. As might be inferred from such a state of things, the guidance of authentic documents has in a great measure deserted us: the expositions of those who have undertaken to be the historians of the period are too extreme in their views to be relied on: for the most part, in their zeal to make out a case, they have neglected to keep in view the laws of possibility. It is chiefly from the correspondence of a few eminent men, in those times engaged in the conduct of affairs, that the true underworkings of the system as it existed in their time, can be brought to the test of written authority; and these must, from their nature, be received with allowance and caution. Then, as now, party leaders had little fairness in the estimation of each other in Ireland.

These features of the times are important to be mentioned here, as they must influence our present course. The quietness of this interval, together with the character of the political machinery then mainly in action, was such as to preclude in a great measure that individual prominence of warriors and partisans, which, till now, have occupied our pages. Our government was mainly carried on by the deputies and lords-justices sent over officially, from England. The consequent absence of subjects for biography, such as to fall legitimately within the plan of these memoirs, renders it expedient to fulfil the properly historical part of our undertaking, by availing ourselves of a resource strictly within our limits.

The main events, and the general view of the political history of the reigns of the first two kings of the house of Hanover, will form an appropriate portion of our introduction to the political period next in succession. We may then include in such a statement rapid but sufficient sketches of Carteret, and other viceroys, who were the principal persons in the scene.

In the mean time, there is little of any real permanent importance within the same interval of time, that the reader may not find distinctly related among the ecclesiastical and literary lives which are now to follow in order. The government of Ireland during the time referred to here, was mainly conducted by the counsels of the great officers of the church and law. To these, therefore, and to the more general and methodical statement at the further period of our task, we must now refer the reader.

ECCLESIASTICAL SERIES.

Thomas Jones, Archbishop of Dublin.

SUCCEEDED A.D. 1605.—DIED A.D. 1619.

THOMAS JONES was a lineal descendant from the illustrious family of Herbert.* His father, Sir Roger Jones, was an alderman and sheriff of London, and knighted by king James I., at Whitehall. Thomas was born at the family-seat in Lancashire, and received his education at Cambridge. Having entered into holy orders, he came over to Ireland, and married Margaret Purdon, sister to the wife of Archbishop Loftus, an alliance by means of which, as Mr Dalton justly observes, he probably soon obtained preferment. On this, Mr Dalton quotes a remark of Mr Mason's worthy of repetition—there was “a singular congruity in the events which befell each of these persons. They were educated in the same university, and ran the race of ambition together; both were deans of St Patrick's, archbishops of Dublin, chancellors and lord justices of Ireland, they married two sisters, and each left a numerous progeny; while the elder branch of both families was ennobled in the persons of their immediate heirs.”†

Jones took his doctor's degree in the university of Dublin; was elected dean of St Patrick's in 1581; and in 1584 he was promoted to the see of Meath. In 1605, he was by the special recommendation of king James promoted to the see of Dublin. A few days after, he was appointed lord chancellor.

At the accession of James I., the state of the church in Ireland was one of ruin and dilapidation; neither were its endowments sufficient to give efficacy to an establishment, circumstanced otherwise as it then was, in the midst of barbarism and civil disorder of every kind, and from every cause: nor were its ministers sufficiently qualified to diffuse the light so much wanting, in the surrounding moral and spiritual obscurity of the country. The church of Rome, at the same time, held a station and asserted an influence not much more advanced. But a series of workings and events were from this date about to set in, which was largely to alter and modify the condition of both. The chiefs were ignorant of letters and indifferent about religion: they only thought of recovering, extending, or securing their dominions, and preserving their iron jurisdiction over the people, on whom they lorded it with absolute control. This power was only to be maintained by preserving the friendly outwork of that perfect ignorance, which, in its various degrees, is the fruitful mother of civil degradation. The church of Rome was, through some of its faithful servants, striving for a still denied and contested influence; but the progress which it had made had been hitherto insufficient to enable it to direct its force, with effect, against the rival church of England. It had yet enough to struggle

* Burke's Peerage.

† Dalton's Archbishops of Dublin.

against, in the jealous opposition of the chiefs who had sagacity to perceive, that it might enlighten and must emancipate from their grasp those whom they so firmly controlled. So lax, accordingly, was the actual resistance to the supremacy asserted by the English church, that the laity of the Romish communion in Dublin were regular in their attendance at the parish church; and this attendance, though enforced by a law, which, under other circumstances, might be justly called tyrannical and harsh, was not the object of complaint. Though the law was severe, there had been no severity in the general spirit of its administration: it had been generally the mind of Queen Elizabeth's government to be strong in the assertion of power, but mild in its application; and the principle was preserved in the case of the Romish church in Ireland.

The English church had its own disadvantages to cope with. Insufficient both in its endowments and organization, its parochial clergy were not sufficiently provided in means or attainments, to bear up against the pressure of irreligion and ignorance, by which they were surrounded. It was not easy at that period, to find persons of sufficient spirit, information and ability, to execute so obscure and laborious, yet unpromising a task as that of an Irish country pastor, among a community as lawless as the absence of law can make human beings, and as untaught as the herds they tended or stole. For the reader will recollect that the ancient civilization of Ireland had been swept away by many centuries of internal war. In such a state of its means, and of the obstacles with which it had to cope, it cannot be surprising that an efficient ministry could not be provided, or that they were observed by John Davie to be "such poor ragged ignorant creatures, (for we saw many of them in the camp,) that we could not esteem any of them worthy of the meanest of these livings, albeit many of them are not worth 40 shillings per annum."*

With such a state of ecclesiastical affairs, the beginning and cause of worse, Jones had to bear an important part in struggling: the following long, but not too long extract, contains his valuable testimony on the same subject—"I humbly pray my true excuse may be considered of, which is, that I cannot get curates to supply the service of these churches; the rectories are inappropriate, and the farmers cannot be drawn to yield any competent means to a minister, for serving the cure; besides, if we could get means, we cannot possibly get ministers; for the natives of this kingdom being generally addicted to popery, do train up their children to superstition and idolatry, so soon as they come of age to send them beyond the seas, from whence they return either priests, jesuits, or seminaries, enemies to the religion established, and pernicious members to the state. Such English ministers and preachers as come hither out of England, we do but take them upon credit, and many times they prove of a dissolute life, which doth much hurt. I do humbly desire a small supply of ministers, and I will have an especial care of their placing in the best manner I can. Some livings are fallen void, since the beginning of this visitation, for which I know not how to provide incumbents for the present."†

* Hist. Relations.

† Mant. Hist. Ir. Church.

Jones had the merit of exercising considerable and effective vigilance and activity within his episcopal jurisdiction. He contrived amid the dearth of knowledge which then prevailed, to fill the pulpits of his diocese, and especially the city of Dublin, with persons of competent learning and piety. He repaired and restored the edifice of Christ-church, then fast sinking into ruin.

He died in Dublin, in April 1619, and was buried in St Patrick's church, near the communion-table.*

He left a son, who was afterwards created Viscount Ranelagh, and Baron Jones of Navan.

Matthew de Obeido, Titular Archbishop of Dublin.

Of the life of this ecclesiastic, very few particulars have been gleaned by the pious diligence, though aided by the learned research of Mr Dalton. Nor should we think it necessary to introduce here any special notice of one of whom we have nothing to relate, that has not been better told in that learned gentleman's pages, were it not that his peculiar connexion with his church in Ireland, affords a continuous link in the chain of our history.

Duly to understand the brief and summary view which our pledged limits permit us to offer of the ecclesiastical history of the commencement of the 17th century, it is absolutely necessary that the reader should be possessed of, and bear in mind that more general state of the age in this island, which we have laboured to keep in view, through the entire of our previous memoirs. For as we have already noticed, there are two very distinct histories of the same events, which, neither of them being substantially untrue, are yet each calculated to convey views which are diametrically opposed to each other. The long and violent struggle between the English and Irish, and its subsequent result, that between the churches of England and Rome, were in their different stages marked by incidents, which, when isolated from their real causes both in fact, and in the spirit of the respective times, are capable of being constructed into cases of great strength, for the most part very different from the truth of history. There is, however, to look no farther than the principle, this much in favour of the protestant historians, that for the most part they are not controversial—that is, they are not written with an express design to make out any particular case,—their statements are uncoloured by advocacy. There is yet also a previous and more important distinction in their favour: allowing, as we are disposed on much patient study to do, *circumstantial* truth to both, the protestant historians deal less in sweeping omissions of the real moving agencies of the period before us; the statements which they give are the causes and beginnings of those very trains of events, which appear in the writings of the Romish historians, not only disconnected from these causes, but connected with

* Dalton.

other *mediate* incidents in the chain from which they derive an entirely different face. It is evident how in this way, those who have mainly to dwell on a certain class of *consequences*, may preserve the actual truth of facts consistently with that narrow species of candour, which regards not the justice of the construction.

The historians who deal in elaborate representations of the persecutions by which they pretend to imagine that the Romanists of this time were driven into rebellion, are widely remote indeed from the truth, in their statements respecting those persecutions; but totally untrue in the inference. They forget in their narratives the entire state of things then existing. A strict regard to the *whole* truth would in these present times be most desirable for both parties, as well as most just. If instead of attempting to repel severe and bitter charges, by fallacious recriminations and evasive denials, the writer of this day had rather looked on the reality of causes and events, and endeavoured to separate their actual state from most prejudicial retrospects, they might have turned away the eye of political opposition from many questions, from the discussion of which they have derived no advantage to their actual object.

In the end of the 16th century, every denomination of religion had attained the lowest comparative level in Ireland. There was no diffusive spirit either political or religious among any class or rank of the people: there was no pervading system of government, and no uniform administration of law. Altogether there existed a singularly disjoined and disorderly condition of things. Two distinct communities regarded each other with fear, distrust and vigilance. Of the great chiefs, among whom the main part of the island was divided, all were nominally subjects of the English crown. But virtually some held their toparchies in absolute right by the tenures of the ancient law, while others were the acknowledged subjects of the king. Again, of those latter, some were truly and by affection, as well as from interest, subjects of the crown; while others held from motives of present policy, arising out of fear or interest. Some desired protection from the usurpations of their more powerful neighbours. Some had objects of a less warrantable description. The whole was one tissue of intrigue, oppression, violence and circumvention; in which very like the commonwealth of the great deep, the large fishes lived in the perpetual chase and demolition of the smaller. To enlighten the obscurity, and lessen the horrors of this anomalous and diseased constitution of society, the priests of both the Protestant, the ancient Irish, and the Roman churches, laboured in their several vocations. Between them, there were some important differences of various kinds, but no private ill-will or personal antagonism. The whole importance of their differences was not very fully appreciated by either; and both were held in slight veneration by the ignorant and wild populace of the forest and moorish pastures, and their barbaric tyrants, who much disliked and scornfully resisted every influence, which tended, however remotely, towards the equalizing principle of civilization.

In the general state of the country thus described, the particulars of which may be found substantiated in our political section, there was a more continued and more systematic struggle at the same time in

operation, caused by the efforts of the English government, to rule or to reduce to amity and order this heterogeneous mass. From this we have already in detail traced the causes and effects, the necessary and the mistaken severities, the violent resistances and retaliations, and the varied cases of official malversation and private abuse of power, inseparable according to the laws of human nature from such times. Among these, the history of two Irish chiefs is to be referred to here, as mainly influencing and giving a determinate direction to the fortunes of the Irish churches.

Through the entire of our memoirs of the chiefs who were engaged in the wars of Tyrone, we have had to describe the incidents to which we must now be contented to refer. The animosity of Red Hugh O'Donel, the chief of Tyrconnel, had been intensely and permanently excited by the deep personal injuries he had received from the Irish administration. The restless O'Neile was the dupe and victim of his own ambitious and intriguing temper: unwilling to acquiesce in the constraints of the English power, and unequal to cope with it, his life had been a succession of conspiracies, outbreaks and submissions. While these were working themselves slowly into a position of resistance, and collecting form from year to year, by the union of kindred elements; the court of Spain, engaged in war with England, was skilfully and actively engaged in pouring into the fiery but chaotic mixture, an element of life and combination, and in this was seconded effectually, though cautiously, and with apparent forbearance, by the more tempered and long-sighted policy of the church of Rome.

A swarm of Spanish monks of different orders, and in various characters and disguises, sent over to unite, inflame, and at the same time promise, assistance in men, money and arms, gave hope and assurance to the spirit of enterprise; but above all, it was the main duty of their mission to infuse the exalting and combining principle of spiritual animosity. The chiefs, who conspired from ambition or revenge, gladly entered into the pretext which gave a sanction to their insubordination, and a common ground of appeal to their countrymen: they threw heart and voice into the spirit-stirring motive, and instead of being rebels, rejoiced to find themselves champions of the Catholic church.

The results are known to our readers. The bait was taken, and although the Irish chiefs failed to attain the real objects for which they took arms, the pretended views were in the event more successful. The power of the Irish aristocracy was for ever broken, and their sway over the people handed over to their priests, who from this period began to acquire that vast and irresistible influence which they have hitherto been skilful to retain.

At the time of which we write, it is but just and fair to state, that the influence here attributed to a foreign priesthood, cannot be fairly imputed to the secular clergy of the Irish church. Of these it will be at present enough to quote Leland, the most authoritative historian of Ireland. Having stated in his text the fact that "intelligence was daily spread by popish ecclesiastics of the vast and terrible preparations made by Spain, to overwhelm all England at once, by an irresistible invasion," he adds this note, "Candour obliges us to acknow-

ledge that the Romish clergy at this period did not uniformly concur in exciting the Irish to insurrections. Sullivan himself confesses (though it was his business to represent the zeal of his countrymen in the most favourable point of view), that a considerable party among this clergy recommended a dutiful submission to government, and opposed the practices of their more intemperate brethren."

We have already related the train of events which, in the year 1579, and the following years, led to the downfall of the princely but rebellious house of Desmond in the south. Of these, the peculiar historical interest is derived mainly from the part taken in the contest which led to this event by the king of Spain, who sent over a small force accompanied by several Spanish ecclesiastics: and the interposition of popes Pius and Gregory, who successively sanctioned the adventurous undertaking, by the formal authority of their bulls, in which the projects of James Fitz-Maurice, and John of Desmond, were duly consecrated by an authority which was fast gaining a most fatal preponderance in Ireland. The struggle was for the occasion, soon closed by a bloody fight, in which the jesuit Allan, who had raised the papal standard and promised certain victory, was slain: and the other leaders, military and ecclesiastical, who led or cheered the Irish by their presence, scattered in irretrievable dispersion, to meet their deaths by the various accidents of famine or capture. Among the Spanish priests who were sent over on this occasion, Matteo Oveido was one; and on the suppression of the insignificant outbreak, which in Spain had been magnified into a national rebellion, he contrived to find his way home. In this he was perhaps favoured by the arrival of two more of his brethren, with arms and ammunition from Spain, who returned immediately on learning the true state of affairs.

A second time in the year 1600, Matteo returned on a similar mission, but in more dignified character and with higher authority. The incident has been already described in our memoir of the rebel earl of Tyrone, to whom on this occasion he brought from the pope messages of encouragement, and exhortations to activity, confirmed by the gift of a consecrated plume of Phoenix feathers. To give the utmost weight to the apostolic mission, he came in the character of archbishop of Dublin. Justly considering that his mission had a larger scope, he proceeded without pause into Ulster; and the hope of Desmond having by this time been extinguished by the valour and conduct of Carew, he hastened to "deliver his credentials" to O'Neile and O'Donel.* Having obtained from these chiefs the solemn assurance of their co-operation, he returned to Spain, and once more came back with the well-known expedition of Don Juan de Aquila, in October, 1601.†

We have already, with sufficient fulness, stated the events of the time and the main particulars of the course pursued by the several parties. It belongs more particularly to our present purpose, to state that a proclamation, printed in Spain, was immediately circulated. It strongly impressed the sin and danger of fighting for Queen Elizabeth, "an excommunicated heretic"—and menaced as a consequence that the Spanish general would treat those who fought against him as

* Dalton.

† Vol. II. pp. 137, 138, Hib. Pacata.

heretics, and as such *persecute them to death*. But the time had not then arrived when the Irish people were to be effectively roused by the trumpet of heresy: this liability was an after result of a chain of causes, of which the beginning is to be sought in these same struggles, and in the ministrations of men like Matthew de Oveido. The Irish people were in the main little moved, and the priesthood of the Irish church was on the whole unfavourably inclined to a cause mainly sustained by the efforts and rapidly increasing influence of the foreign regulars, whose policy was greater and their piety less.

We refrain from lengthening this memoir, by quoting at length the curious letters in which this missionary of insurrection addresses the chiefs from north to south, to excite them to battle for their faith and liberty. On the conclusion of the rebellion, he returned to Spain, and passed the remainder of his life in obscurity.

It is unnecessary to pursue the train of reflections strongly suggested by our perusal of the few incidents, among which we have selected this scanty and yet sufficient memoir. One alone, we would anxiously press on the attention of those writers, whose statements have suggested them, when such documents, as they are fully aware of, have been published on the real or pretended authority of the church of Rome—when such were the grounds of rebellion urged upon the people. Supposing them to have been but the accident of the moment and to have virtually ceased to retain any operative effect; how could the protestant rulers or ecclesiastics of the very same generation be expected to see so clearly into changes which would be now so hard to comprehend, as to be uninfluenced by the recollection of great political dangers, expressly emanating from the church of Rome and its branches and adherents? If we grant, as we have hitherto granted, the impolicy as well as cruelty of persecution, we are yet inclined to think the admission was at that period far beyond the knowledge and spirit of the age. And, unless the reader will really insist that every standard of policy and public opinion in any way fixed by experience is to be rejected—and that the acts, declarations and professions of men are absolutely of no weight—we are not sure that much that now seems only hard, may not be maintained as then essential to the peace of England, and the security of her church.

Henry Usher, Primate of Ireland.

DIED A. D. 1613.

THE family of Usher is traced from a gentleman who came over with king John. His name was Nevil, but having remained in Ireland, he took the name of Usher, from the title of the office which he had filled in the court of John.—He appears to have settled near Dublin, and to have transmitted the name thus assumed, through a long succession of descendants, of whom many occupied situations of public honour.

Henry Usher was a native of Dublin. He studied first at Cambridge, and afterwards at Paris; and after his return to Ireland, having

entered into holy orders, became archdeacon of Dublin. While in this situation, he was instrumental to the foundation of the university of Trinity College near Dublin, having been sent over to England by archbishop Loftus to solicit the queen's license for that purpose, as already related fully in our account of that prelate.—He is here commemorated on account of this distinguished office. But on the death of archbishop Garvey, he succeeded to the primacy in 1595. Henry Usher died in 1613, and was succeeded in the primacy by Christopher Hampton.

James Usher, Primate of Ireland.

BORN A.D. 1580.—DIED A.D. 1656.

MR ARNOLD USHER, brother to the primate Henry, last noticed, was one of the six clerks in the Irish chancery; he married a daughter of Mr James Stanyhurst, a master in chancery, recorder of Dublin, and speaker in three parliaments.

From these parents, James Usher was born in Dublin, in 1580. In his early infancy he had the good fortune to be brought up by two aunts, who being blind from their youth, were domesticated in his father's house. Shut out by their infirmity from the excitements and vanities of the world, they had also escaped its corruptions, and found their refuge and consolation in the sequestered ways of salvation: and their blindness was enlightened by the purer inward light which is derived from divine truth. From such teachers, the infancy of Usher was from the earliest dawn of childish thought, nurtured in holy knowledge and love: and habits as well as tastes were imparted, which now may appear to have been the providential, as they surely were the appropriate, training for a high and responsible calling in times of great trial. The soil was good ground in every respect: young Usher was as apt to learn as he was afterwards to teach: he showed a quiet, submissive and studious disposition, a retentive memory and quick apprehension, with a peculiar aptitude to receive religious impressions. Nor can we have any doubt in tracing to these peculiar and most interesting circumstances, much of the affecting and impressive piety which, at a remote period of his afterlife, sustained him in so many and such great trials and adversities.

Such a childhood and such a life, indeed, offer the truest illustrations of the wisdom of the inspired precept, "Remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth," &c.; for, omitting the trite truths of the power and permanence of youthful habits, and the obvious advantage of pre-occupying the heart with the impressions which are best, and least found in the ways of life, there is a natural return of the affections to the conversation of early years, which increases the more man finds disappointment in the attractions of life. And it is a happy coincidence when this bright spot in the retrospect is a hallowed spot. It is one way of converting the natural affections into alliance with that spirit, against which our earthly nature is too much at war; and it is a blessed thing, if in a world all the hopes and desires of which

are strongly repugnant to every holy desire or good counsel, the memory of those parents and friends and seasons, to which every heart of human mould must from time to time turn most fondly, should come laden with still higher and holier thoughts, and carry up the heart to that seat on high, where the teachers of holiness have gone to their reward.

Such was the happy lot of that illustrious prelate of whose earthly pilgrimage we are now to trace the trying and difficult path. And if his infancy was thus happy, his subsequent education was at least attended with some curious and interesting circumstances. On his tenth year, he was sent to a school kept by two very remarkable men.

Mr Fullarton and Mr Hamilton were two Scotchmen of considerable talent and learning, sent over by the king of Scotland, to cultivate an interest in favour of his claim to the crown. And as the jealousy of Elizabeth on that point was so well known, it was both safe and prudent to adopt some specious pursuit to cover their true design. They set up a school: and considering the dearth of education in Ireland at the time, there was perhaps no course more favourable to that purpose, than one which must have rendered them at once objects of interest to all who were likely to be in any way serviceable, by influence or information. They quickly established the species of intercourse and correspondence, which was considered desirable for their employer's cause. When he came to the throne upon Elizabeth's death, he knighted Fullarton, and raised Hamilton to the peerage by the title of viscount Claudebois.

To the school thus opened, James Usher was sent. And there, for the term of five years, he distinguished himself by his rapid proficiency in latin and rhetoric, the chief school acquirements of the age. He of course attracted the favourable attention of his masters, whose care of his instruction he often afterwards mentioned with gratitude.

It is stated on his own authority, that Usher while at school, had a great love of poetry; and, considering the imitative tendency of youth, this would be a natural result of the first acquaintance with the latin poets. We have already noticed the curious and grotesque imitations of his cousin Richard Stanyhurst. English poetry then offered few models, and though these were no less than Chaucer, Spenser and Shakspeare; yet considering the state of literature in Ireland, and the "great scarcity of good books and learned men" then complained of there, with the usual course of school discipline, it is not likely that Usher had formed any conceptions of style more tasteful than those of his cousin. He says, that he laid poetry aside, as likely to interfere with his more useful and solid pursuits, and to those who are acquainted with his writings, it will not appear to have been his calling.

The afterpursuits, in which he has acquired permanent renown, were according to his own account of himself, determined by the chance perusal of a book written by Sleidan. Of the state of learning in that period of our history, it would be difficult to speak, as we would wish, within the moderate compass afforded by the task we have in hand; but happily, the expansive literature of the age in which we live, requires little digression into collateral topics. It was one of the characteristics of the learned histories and treatises of an early age,

that they were replete with far-sought and multifarious erudition : it was a maxim, that a book should contain everything in any way connected with its subject ; such was indeed the essential condition of a contracted range of knowledge and a scarcity of books. To write a book commensurate with the demands of that period, was the work of a life spent in research and diligent study ; and perhaps required far more than the average of intellectual power now employed in similar undertakings. Such powers are for the most part of a nature to impose a determinate direction on the faculties ; the force of genius will impel on, or create its way, because it cannot fail to have some decided tendency. In the life of Usher, the marks of such a tendency are distinct enough ; but there is a deep interest in the contemplation of the spirit of the several times, in which the great master-builders of the fabric of human knowledge have severally grown up to the fulfilment of their tasks. We shall hereafter have occasion to enter on a more complete and extended view of the academic discipline of Usher's period : a few remarks may here sufficiently illustrate his entrance on the laborious and useful pursuits of a long life, spent in researches of the utmost importance to the ancient history of these isles.

For some time previous to that in which we are now engaged, a considerable revolution in literature had been slowly in progress. The recent cultivation of the literature of the ancients was beginning to improve the taste, as also to give more just notions of the use of human reason than seem to have been entertained in the middle ages, when words became invested with the dignity of things, and the forms of logic were confounded with the ends of reason. In that obscure transition of the human mind, the end of intellect had been lost in a thousand nugatory refinements upon the means. But though the world was then rapidly emerging from this chaos into daylight ; yet, it was rather to be perceived in the beginnings of new things than in the disappearance of the old. Of polite literature, it would be a digression to speak ; the fathers of English poetry stood apart from the obscurity of their times, and the great dramatic writers of the Elizabethan age had not as yet received any place in the shelves of general literature. The impulse of modern letters was to be received independently of all pre-existing progress, and to emanate more strictly from the standards of antiquity, than from the irregular though splendid models of the previous periods. A single glance into the best writers of the early part of the 17th century will not fail to illustrate the rudeness of men's notions of style in prose or verse : the higher efforts of intellectual power as yet rejected the undefined powers of the English language, and the works of learned men were composed in the Latin. From the pure and perfect models which had been embalmed to perpetuity in a dead language, more permanent and systematic forms of literature were to arise, in the very period at which we are arrived : Virgil and Tully sat like the ruddy and golden clouds on the edge of dawn, while the earth lay yet in a glimmering obscurity. In the university of Dublin, by far the most honourable and illustrious incident in the history of the age, this state of things may be considered as fairly represented : as it is now on the advance of human knowledge, so it then possessed the best knowledge proper to the date of its founda-

tion; though this indeed was little more than the ancient languages of Greece and Rome, with the logic and rhetoric of the schools. The only knowledge besides these which could be said to offer any scope to a student like Usher, were theology and history. But of these, it is to be observed that neither of them had been yet exhumed from the imperfect, scattered, abstruse and ponderous mass of voluminous or impracticable reservoirs, in which they lay buried. They had not been dug from the mine of antiquity, and reduced into academical order: to effect this, and embody materials for the student, was the work of Usher, Stillingfleet, and a host of laborious and gifted contemporaries, and successors, from their time down to that of our illustrious countrymen, Magee and Graves.

Again, the mathematical sciences, which, expanded as they now are to the utmost powers and capacities of human reason; and embracing in their grasp all realities below revelation, had little existence beyond their forms and principles; and these but cumbrously and inadequately developed. They must have attracted, but could not satisfy an intellect that tended to results; as manifesting the clearest and most satisfactory exemplifications and exercises of reasoning, they could not fail to become a temporary discipline or entertainment; but they terminated in comparatively slight results and common uses—they did not lead as now, to the temple of divine power and wisdom, and open to the wonder and curiosity, the illimitable heights and depths of the creation. The far-searching and subtle resources of transcendental science were profoundly concealed; the superb structure of reason, observation, and mechanical skill, which makes astronomy the triumph of human intelligence, was but in its dilatory foundations; the wondrous results of electro-magnetism, and of physical optics, with a host of brilliant and useful applications, of which the very names are additions to language, and which make the realities of modern science more wonderful than the fictions of old magic—had no existence then. They are the results of the intellectual labour and genius of after-times, and the light and glory of our modern universities.

From this summary sketch, it is easy to pass to the consideration of the natural direction which the genius of Usher would be likely to receive from the state of knowledge in his time. Naturally addicted to the pursuit of truth, and rather constituted for research than invention, he followed that broad track on which the best and most practical intellect of his day was sure to be impelled. It is stated, in the dedication of his work on the British Churches, that he was first determined to the study of history by his admiration of a passage in Cicero, "*Nescire quid antea quam natus sis acciderit est semper esse puerum,*" and having Sleidan, as already mentioned, at the same time put into his hands, he determined to devote his study to antiquities. We can ourselves well recollect the impression made on an intelligent youthful assembly of students in Dublin University, by a judicious citation of Cicero's remark.*

* The Historical Society, a spontaneous shoot of the university, more clearly marking, than anything we can here say, the real working of that great and solid institution. It was the exuberant overflow of its instructed intelligence, and such

The first stone of the university of Dublin was laid in 1591: in two years after it was ready for the reception of students. On the admission of students, in 1593, James Usher was one of three who matriculated, and his name stands first on that roll which may be regarded as the chronology of Ireland's progress in learning. Loftus, in a memoir of whom we have already given some account of the foundation, was appointed first provost. Hamilton, one of Usher's masters, was also appointed a fellow, to the great advantage of his pupil. When he entered college, Usher had reached his thirteenth year: he took his degree of Bachelor in 1596. The interval was creditably marked by its fruits. Before he had more than completed his sixteenth year, he had already drawn up the plan and chief materials of his "Annals of the Old and New Testament." Thus, from the very foundation of the university, may be said to have emanated a great work, which laid the solid foundation of chronology. The Bible he was wont to call the Book of books; and considered it as containing the true rule of life,—a sentiment which, though unquestionably involved in the profession of a Christian faith, as being directly inculcated in the Bible itself, yet either then or now, practically recognised by few. Few, indeed, there are, who, like James Usher, take upon them the example of the Son of God in the wilderness, who met every wile of Satan with an answer from the word of Scripture.

But Usher lived in a day when the follower of Christ was to be assailed, not only by those trials which address themselves to the ordinary frailties of the human heart. His church was in a state of controversy, and invested by no slight array of the hosts of spiritual darkness. It was especially necessary that a scholar, whose knowledge and zeal were so eminent, should be ready to give an answer for his faith. This truth was the more feelingly pressed on the mind of Usher by the state of religious profession in his own family. His maternal relations were members of the Church of Rome, and his uncle, Richard Stanyhurst, was a man of distinguished talent. As there are proofs extant of the anxiety of the family, and especially of Stanyhurst, to prevail on their young relative to conform to their creed, it may with certainty be inferred, that numerous efforts for the purpose must have been made, and that conversations of a controversial nature must frequently have taken place. Such a position—and in Ireland most protestants have more or less experienced it in their circle of friends, if not among their kindred and connexions—would naturally impart to the zealous temper some direction towards such

as, if justly considered, to exhibit to the reflecting spirit the true essential tendencies of the course of instruction adopted by the university. On this ill-understood question we should be happy to make some remarks; but on consideration we abstain. There is too much to be replied to, and too much to be explained. One remark we must make: they who have fully availed themselves of the prescribed course of academical discipline, are never found wanting in whatever knowledge their position requires. The occasion to which we have above referred, was one of the annual addresses from the chair. It was delivered by Mr Sidney Taylor, since an eminent member of the English press and bar; but whose advance in his profession is far below the just expectation which his high endowments had raised among those who knew him best.

investigations as might best supply the means of defence. In the case of Usher, this motive was quickened by incidents: his uncle was not only in the habit of holding disputations with him, but there is evidence that he even studied and made extensive notes for these: among his writings occurs the title, "*Brevis premonitio pro futurâ concertatione cum Jacobo Uszero.*" But these facts are the worthier of our notice here, because it was from this very controversy with his uncle, that his mind and studies received their immediate colour. He was yet engaged in his under-graduate course, when his uncle, still anxious to serve him according to his own views, gave him to read, "*Stapleton's Fortress of the Faith,*" the object of which is stated to have been the proof of the catholic antiquity of the Church of Rome—a fortunate incident, as in this controversy, it is the only question which is likely to lead to a decided issue. Points of doctrine will, until mankind changes, ever afford latitude for clouds of evasive rhetoric, the subtle fallacies of language, easy misunderstandings of isolated texts of scripture, and the wilful sophistry that appeals to ignorance. The antiquity of the church of Rome, considered with reference to its doctrines, pretensions, and constitution, &c., is a point of historical fact; excluding ignorance, prejudice, and metaphysics, and referring the question to the ever competent tribunal of testimony; and in the instance before us such was the result. Usher, on the perusal of this work, quickly resolved to refer to the only direct testimony on the point, and diligently engaged in the study of the Fathers—a study which we earnestly wish that the more zealous students of every Christian profession would cultivate; and the more, because these voluminous and recondite writings are liable to a perversion from the dishonest controversialist, from which they would be thus in a manner protected. Relying on the common ignorance, such persons have occasionally thought that it did no dishonour to their profession to support it by the most fraudulent and disingenuous quotations, in which these ancient writers have been made to support the very contradictory of their actual opinions.

Long before he had thus arrayed himself from the armory of antiquity; but strong in the surer panoply described by St Paul, and well-versed in the resources of academic disputation, James Usher, though yet but in his 19th year, was ready to meet the most formidable adversary. At this time, the learned Jesuit, Henry Fitz-Symonds, was, according to the barbarous policy of the day, confined in the castle of Dublin: he complained that, "being a prisoner, he was like a bear tied to a stake, and wanted some to bait him:" the words being repeated, were generally understood to convey a challenge. Usher had at the time attained a high collegiate reputation; his learning and controversial skill, his faculty of language, and the peculiar direction of his studies were known, and every eye was turned upon him, as a fitting champion for the church. The parties met; Usher waited on the Jesuit, and they agreed upon the selection of three topics from the controversies of Bellarmine, and the first topic chosen was concerning the antichrist. On the result there are several statements; we shall, therefore, only place before the reader the most authentic means from which a probable opinion may be with much confidence arrived at—

Usher's letter to the Jesuit. It is as follows:—"I was not purposed (Mr Fitz-Symonds) to write unto you before you had first written to me, concerning some chief points of your religion, (*as at our last meeting promised,*) but seeing you have deferred the same, (for reasons best known to yourself,) I thought it not amiss to inquire further of your mind, concerning the *continuance of the conference begun* betwixt us. And to this I am the rather moved, because I am credibly informed of certain reports which I could hardly be persuaded should proceed from him, who in my presence pretended so great a love and affection unto me. If I am a boy, (as it hath pleased you very contemptuously to name me,) I give thanks to the Lord that my carriage towards you hath been such as could minister unto you no occasion to despise my youth. Your spear belike is in your own conceit a weaver's beam, and your abilities such that you desire to encounter with the stoutest champion in the Hosts of Israel, and therefore (like the Philistine) you contemn me as being a boy; yet this I would fain have you know, that I neither came then, nor now do come unto you, in any confidence of learning that is in me, (in which, nevertheless, I thank God I am what I am,) but I come in the name of the Lord of Hosts, (whose companies you have reproached,) being certainly persuaded that, even out of the mouths of babes and sucklings, he is able to show forth his own praise; for the further manifestation whereof, I do again earnestly request you, that (setting aside all vain comparisons of persons), we may go plainly forward, in examining the matters in controversy between us; otherwise, I hope you will not be displeased if, as for your part you have begun, so I also for my own part may be bold, for the clearing of myself, and the truth which I profess, freely to make known whatever hath already passed concerning this matter. Thus entreating you, in a few lines, to make known unto me your purpose in this behalf, and, praying the Lord, that both this, and all other enterprises we take in hand, may be so ordered, as may most make for the advancement of his own glory, and the kingdom of his Son, Jesus Christ.

"Tuus ad aras usque,

JAMES USHER."

The inference from this letter is decisive and peremptory. Considering the respective characters of the parties, there can be no doubt of the fact that Fitz-Symonds, of whose mission truth formed no part, dealt disingenuously, to ward aside the imputation of having slunk from the contest. In the preface to his "*Britonomachia*," he endeavours to transfer this disgrace to his youthful adversary; but his insinuations are inconsistent with the authentic statement contained in the document above cited. The statement of the missionary is yet valuable for the graphic glimpse it affords us of the person and manner of Usher at the period:—"There came to me once a youth, of about eighteen years of age, of a ripe wit, when scarce as you would think gone through his course of philosophy, or got out of his childhood, yet ready to dispute on the most abstruse points of divinity;" but when he tells his reader, with reference to the same incident, "he did not again deem me worthy of his presence," we must at once discern the

anxious purpose of misrepresentation. He afterwards saw and acknowledged the weight of Usher's character as a scholar, in a compliment of no slight value from a Jesuit of his day, having in one of his works called him "*A catholicorum doctissimus*."

In 1599, a public act was held in college, for the entertainment of the earl of Essex, who came over in April that year as lord-lieutenant. Such exhibitions, in the palmy days of scholastic art, when the jejune pedantry of the categories stood yet high among the accomplishments of the scholar, were objects of fashionable interest; the tilt of wordy weapons between two distinguished doctors was a display as attractive to the cumbrous gaiety of that pedantic age, as the rival strains of Pasta and Grisi are now to ears polite. As the pomps of feudal chivalry, these formidable solemnities of the schools have left their forms behind, like antique carving on the structure of our time-built institutions: but then, these acts were far from idle form. No commencing undergraduate then stood conscious of absurdity, under the smile of the proctor, vainly trying to decypher his paper of syllogisms, the wholesale ware of some garret in Botany Bay, and retailed by the jobber of caps and gowns. Then the youthful disputant stood up ponderously mailed in the whole armour of Ramus and Scotus. Here Usher was at home, a champion at all weapons ever forged from the mine of Aristotle to perplex the reason of the world for half-a-dozen centuries: and in the character of Respondent, won approbation from the polished and graceful courtier of Elizabeth.

Such distinctions must have awakened high hopes of future eminence among his friends. His father, himself an eminent legal functionary, naturally saw in the distinguished university reputation of his son, the promise of forensic fame, and high judicial preferment. But young Usher's tastes led to a different end. The love of real knowledge, once thoroughly attained, is sure to repel the dry and barren labour of a purely artificial system, which, notwithstanding its vast practical utility, is but remotely connected with knowledge, and leads to no permanent truth. The maxims of law, resulting from expediency, contemplate but narrowly and obscurely those primary principles in human nature, from which the expediency is itself the consequence; and in our first acquaintance with the rules of practice, the reason is frequently shocked by numerous instances, which indicate the feebleness and darkness of the connexion. Even the rules of evidence, by their purpose necessarily connected with the truth of things, are cramped in legal practice, so as to exhibit an imperfect, and sometimes erroneous view of the laws of probability. To an intellect fitted by its breadth and depth to explore more spacious realms of research, the subtlety, compactness, and precision of such a science, could not be a compensation for such wants: Usher must, from the nature of his acquirements, be supposed to have looked with infinite distaste on a field of exertion, in which the powers which could investigate the depths of time and event, might be exhausted on the validity of a doubtful title or a paltry question of personal right. He did not, however, question the wishes of his father, who fortunately died before any decision could severely test his filial obedience.

The death of his father left him free, and possessed of a respectable

fortune, with which most men would have been not unreasonably content to relinquish the hopes with the toils of professional life; and few indeed would have taken the high unselfish course of Usher. Having set apart a moderate portion for his own wants, and to supply him with the books necessary for the course of study to which he felt himself pledged, the remainder he disposed of for the maintenance of his sisters and brother.

In 1600, he took the degree of Master of Arts, and was elected proctor and catechetical lecturer of the university. The distinguished manner in which he discharged the duty of an office for which he was in every way so peculiarly fitted, added to his reputation, and confirmed the election of his course and calling. Another step to his advancement offered at the same time. The reader is already aware of the ill-provided condition of the church in Ireland at that dark period. A want of preachers made it necessary to select three young men from among the students of Trinity College, to preach in the cathedral of Christ Church, before the lord-lieutenant. Richardson, Walsh, and Usher were chosen. To Usher was allotted the afternoon sermon, the subject of which rendered it then an object of the most attractive interest, as it was controversial, and intended to satisfy the members of the Romish communion on the errors of their church; and in this he was so successful that many were brought over to the church. In his catechetical lectures he also made it his business to explain the main articles of the protestant churches, as distinguished from those of the church of Rome. In the previous year, the people of this communion had, under a fine of twelve pence, been compelled to attend divine service in the churches, by virtue of a clause in the act of uniformity. The enactment was at this time enforced, in consequence of the alarms caused by Tyrone's rebellion, and the rumour, not quite unfounded, of a massacre which was designed to follow the victory, if gained by Don Juan. The defeat of this unfortunate leader in 1601, tended greatly both to quiet the apprehensions of the protestants, and to impart a more willing and cheerful feeling of acquiescence among the papists. To render the measure effective, the Dublin clergy were directed to arrange their Sunday duties so as to have a sermon adapted to the purpose of their instruction, at each church, on the afternoon of every Sunday.

Usher was among the most active in this service; having, in the interval, been admitted into holy orders by his uncle the primate. This was, in some measure, in opposition to his own inclination, as he was unwilling to enter prematurely on the sacred calling, before he had attained the lawful age; but the necessity of the time, and his ripeness of attainment, made it plainly desirable; and he yielded to the urgency of his friends. A special dispensation was therefore obtained for the purpose. He seems, however, to have confined his ministration to the pulpit, justly sensible that the part which he had allotted to him in the Christian church, was wider and more permanent than the essentially confined range of duties which are allotted to the parish clergyman. Not, indeed, we feel it necessary to add, that these latter have less vital and essential importance: the defence of the faith—the integrity of Christian doctrine—the constituted authority and dis-

cipline of the church—are but the outward system of that great interest of souls, of which the faithful cure is the vital and essential use and practical end. But there is yet a great distinction: though the ablest development of genius and scholarship that ever yet appeared in the form of a book, cannot, in intrinsic worth, be weighed against the salvation of a soul, yet it is a false estimate, and founded on a vulgar fallacy, that would weigh these results in the scale of opposition. It is enough that the book is wanting, and fills a necessary place in the whole system of the ecclesiastical edifice. The humblest and commonest talents are, by the blessing of God, when rightly directed by proper preparation, and the co-operation of grace, fully competent to perform all that human effort can do in the cure of souls. The encounter with the infidel, the heretic, and the schismatic, demand rare and singular powers and attainments, only the result of long and secluded study and intellectual training. Such faculties, and such capabilities, when they occur, are not to be inappropriately expended on the work that wants not labourers; but to be sedulously devoted to the purpose for which, it is to be presumed, from the known economy of God, they are designed. God is to be served with the best powers of the mind, applied in their most effective mode of exertion. Nor, unless on the presumed opinion that men like Usher are the mere result of chance, can it be presumed that they act in conformity with any view of the divine will, when they resign their peculiar gifts, and take those parts in which they are, indeed, often inferior to ordinary men.

We have already noticed, with the requisite fulness, the political condition of the times, and it is a topic to which we would not willingly return. To an intellect like that of Usher, it must have conveyed clearer indications of its tendencies, than to understandings of ordinary gauge. Men most conversant with affairs seldom have sufficiently the power of just generalization, to look beyond immediate consequences; they are sunk in the complication of detail; and small things, from their nearness, obstruct the mental vision. But the historical intellect soon learns to look on large processes moving in the distance of time, and like the far-sighted vision of astronomy, as compared with common observation, to separate the true motions from the apparent. It is to an impression originating in such habits of mind, that we are inclined to attribute the curious facts connected with Usher's sermon in 1601, in which he applied a prophecy of Ezekiel's to the politics of Ireland. His text was Ezekiel iv. 6:—“*Thou shalt bear the iniquity of the house of Judah forty days. I have appointed thee each day for a year,*” which he applied to his own country in that remarkable expression, “From this year I reckon forty years, and then those whom you now embrace shall be your ruin, and you shall bear their iniquity.” As Usher claimed no inspiration, and as the prophecy is, by the admission of all, misapplied, the coincidence might therefore be deemed accidental; and unless we presume some unconscious interposition of divine power, not very likely on the occasion or in the manner, it must be admitted to be partly so. But we have no doubt of the real nature and true source of the impression, from which Usher was so led to apply the prophecy; an application which, we must confess, raises our wonder not

the less, from our opinion of its fallacy; for it strongly shows the force with which Usher's intellect was impressed by the actual indications from which, while they were beyond ordinary sight, he derived the impression. Nor, making this allowance, does the actual error in the least abate our respect for his critical character; for if the reader will consider the phenomena in that case present to Usher's observation—a church largely intertangled with, and affecting the visible church of Christ, and a nation peculiarly the scene of a great conflict, arising from that connexion, and then looking on the prophecies, as tracing by anticipation the whole history of the Christian church—it is no wonder that so vast a working as he saw, and so dreadful a crisis as he anticipated, should seem to be foreshadowed in a prophecy so aptly coincident. The force of Usher's impression, and perhaps, also, the clearness of his observation, is enforced by further testimony from Bernard's life:—"What a continued expectation he had of a judgment upon his native country I can witness, that from the year 1629, when I had the happiness first to be known to him, and the nearer the time every year, the more confident, to my often wonder and admiration, there being nothing visibly tending to the fear of it." Even in the widest grasp of human powers, we can find illustrations of the narrowness of our discernment. To see more fully the common want of political foresight in the actual conduct of political affairs, "with how little wisdom the world is governed," a better example cannot indeed be found than in the whole policy of that age. The government was assuredly equally injudicious in its mercies and severities to the church of Rome in Ireland.

It was in the year 1603, that the English army in Ireland, desirous to establish some appropriate memorial of their success over the domestic and foreign foes of Ireland in the battle of Kinsale, subscribed with that intent £1800, and appropriated it to the library of Trinity College, Dublin. For the outlay of this munificent subscription to the true interests of the country, Usher, with two fellows of the university, were commissioned to visit London; and thus was opened, in fact, a new era in his life. London then, as since, the real centre of human attainment, must have opened a wide field of interest, of which inadequate conceptions can now be formed, when literature is universally diffused, and the ends of the civilized world are virtually nearer than the limits of the British isles were then. Then books were few, knowledge rare, and genius moved "separate as a star," through the surrounding intellectual vacuity and darkness. While Usher and his colleagues were in London, it chanced that Sir Thomas Bodley* was there in the same pursuit: and it is stated, that he contributed to their object by valuable advice, such as his local information and habitual acquaintance with that avocation might be supposed to afford. "It is a pleasing reflection," observes bishop

* Sir Thomas Bodley was a native of Exeter: he received his education at Geneva, and in Oxford. He was much employed by queen Elizabeth, on embassies chiefly. He is worthy of memory for having re-built the library of Oxford University, and bequeathed his fortune to maintain it: he died in 1612, in the 68th year of his age.

Mant,* "to the members of the two universities in aftertimes, as it was to the delegates of each at the time, that the Bodleian library of Oxford, and the library of the university of Dublin, designed as they were, each in its respective place, to be the instruments of disseminating sound religion and useful learning over the church and empire, began together with an interchange of mutual kind offices."

On his return, Usher was promoted to the chancellorship of St Patrick's by his early friend Loftus, then archbishop of Dublin. He thus acquired the means of enlarging his own collection of books, with the valuable experience derived from his recent employment. The cure of Finglas was attached to his office in the cathedral, and he applied himself to the diligent discharge of its duty, by preaching in the parish church every Sunday. His natural and characteristic liberality was in this also, shown in a provision for the future discharge of the same duties, by endowing the vicarage of Finglas.

In 1607, Camden came to Dublin to collect materials for the description of Dublin, afterwards published in the last edition of his *Britannia*: in the conclusion of this description, his obligations to Usher are acknowledged, where he attributes his information chiefly to "the diligence and labour of James Usher, chancellor of St Patrick's, who in various learning and judgment, far exceeds his years."

In the same year, having taken his degree of bachelor of divinity, he was then at the age of twenty-six appointed professor of divinity to the university, an office which he filled with credit and extensive usefulness for the next thirteen years. His lectures were directed by the consideration of the spiritual and doctrinal necessities of the age, and with still more especial relation to Ireland. The work of a lecturer in divinity, was then, in some respects, such as to task more severely the memory and theological scholarship as well as the controversial abilities of the lecturer. There were then none of those well-digested compendiums containing the history and exposition of every question and controversy from the beginning, which now adorn the country curate's shelf, and make knowledge easy: the materials of instruction were to be gathered from the vast chaos of antiquity, which may be aptly dignified with the character of *rudis indigestaque moles*. The age was then but recently beginning to emerge from the unprofitable logomachy of school divinity—the *vox et præterea nihil* of the brethren of St Dominic and St Francis—of Scotists and Thomists, and all the motley and metaphysical fraternities within the comprehensive unity of the see of Rome. The theology of the middle ages had rejected alike the authority of Scripture, and of the scriptural expositors of the early churches:—the facts which might have been unmanageable, the authorities, which could hardly be subtilized away by the eloquence of Aquinas, or darkened by the logical distinctions of our countryman Scotus, had been by common consent laid aside, and consequently forgotten. It was the pride and policy of the schools to maintain their theological tenets on the basis of first principles, and by the powers of reason, with a subtilty competent to maintain any con-

* Hist. of the Church of Ireland.

tradition. But the Reformation had brought back the war of tongues from the verge of the seventeenth century, to the documents and authority of the early church. A broad glow of morning light was opening fast upon the swamps and labyrinths of the human intellect: and other weapons were become necessary to meet and encounter the palpable and formidable realities which were obtruding themselves upon Europe; these were no longer to be obscured by the mere phantasmagoria of human ignorance, or knocked aside by the jarring perversions of Greek philosophy. Yet how far the reformers were to be directly encountered at their own weapons, was yet questionable in the judgment of a policy which has seldom been far diverted from prudence by any dogmatical predilection. In this nice emergency the order of Jesuits arose, with a new organization, to meet the dangers of the time. This illustrious order, though early and without intermission exposed to the hatred of the Benedictines and Dominicans, soon added as largely to the power and extent of the papal domains, as their rivals by their ignorance and other demerits had lost; and though fiercely attacked by the resentment of these rivals, were soon found so effective in their resistance, so subtle and dexterous in their use of means, that it was observed, that even when defeated in the controversy, they contrived to keep possession of the field. Of this order, cardinal Bellarmine, yet living while Usher held his professorship, was then the most conspicuous for ability and learning. There however seems to have belonged to this great man a vein of hardy moral frankness, more consistent with his strong and clear understanding, than with the interests of that great power of which he was the most illustrious champion. It had been among the ruling principles of that great power, not to allow too close an inspection into its fundamental authorities and credentials: and when forced from the hold of politic reserve, it was possessed of unnumbered outlets for evasion in the consecrated obscurity of its retreats: and what the manœuvring of a well-matured system of controversial strategy could not effect, other resources of a more tangible kind were ready to secure. In a controversy, thus conducted as it had till then been, rather by policy or force than by the weapons of reason, and more by evasion than by direct defence, the difficulty was to bring the adversary upon fair ground. The confidence of Bellarmine, founded as it was, on the consciousness of strong reason, and great native fairness of temper, afforded an advantage not to be recalled. He published an extensive and voluminous treatise on the several controversies which had then arisen between the church of Rome and its adversaries the Protestant churches. In these volumes, this illustrious Frenchman threw aside the flimsy but safe resources which had so long been the bulwarks and battlements of human error, and ventured to collect and state the arguments of the protestant divines fairly, and without any important abatement of their force. These he answered with eloquence and skill; such as, indeed, to render his work no unfair representation of the facts and intrinsic value of the cause of which he was the ablest and most respectable supporter. This achievement was, however, far more effective in drawing upon him the force of the adversary, than winning the approbation of his friends. The pontiffs shrunk aghast from a

work in which with more practical wisdom than the great Jesuit, they saw the real effects to be so far from the intention: and he was then and after censured by more politic doctors of his church.

It was by means of this inadvertent honesty of the great leading controversialist of his own day, and Romish authority since, that Usher was enabled to perform the master-stroke of bringing an adversary into court. The infelicitous boldness of the cardinal offered many of the most important questions, fixed beyond the subtle tergiversations and evasive shifts of polemical dexterity. To what extent Usher actually availed himself of this advantage, so judiciously seized, we cannot discover. It is certain that he went very far in labouring on a favourite topic, of which it will now be generally admitted, that it occupied the time of more profitable questions. The fallacy of the effort to identify Antichrist with the Pope has exercised the ingenuity and learning of later divines, but may now be considered at rest: we should be sorry to disturb its repose; but having long ago read much controversy upon the subject, we must venture so far in behalf of our professor, as to say, that the mistake was one not well to be avoided, as its detection has in fact been the result of further discoveries of subsequent commentators, by which the characteristics assigned to one prophetic person, have been since divided between two. Though the fulfilment of the prophecies has been clearly shown to be accurate to a degree which has proved prophecy to be a rigidly faithful anticipation of history,* yet in no instance has anything to be called precision or even near resemblance been attained in the interpretations of unfulfilled prophecy. Of the failure of human interpretations the Jewish history offers one sad and notorious example, though the prophecies of Daniel were least liable to misapprehension.

It was during the period of his professorship, that he is mentioned to have written a "digest of the canons of the universal church," a work which has never been published, though still extant in MS. As we can conceive the scope and execution of such a work, there could be none more laborious in the performance, or more universally salutary in its uses.

In 1609, Usher again visited England in the quest of books: his general reception, the gratifying intercourse with persons of learning and genius, the various opportunities of extending his acquaintance with authors and men; and last, in all probability, the obvious circumstance, that there lay the great high road to fame and preferment, which though secondary objects to men like Usher, cannot be overlooked altogether without some obliquity in the understanding: all these so far interested and attracted him, that his visits to England were afterwards periodically repeated. On these occasions he seems to have evidently made the most of his time; a month at each of the universities, and a month in London, was but enough to satisfy the moral and intellectual craving which had accumulated in the mental seclusion of three years, and to maintain the kindliness and respect

* The reader is referred to Mr Keith's two works on the Prophecies, in which this point is proved with a clearness, precision, and fulness, which leaves nothing wanting of certainty.

due to such a distinguished visitor. On these occasions, it may be superfluous to add, that in each place every collection of books was freely opened to his curiosity; and wherever there was learning or talent, he was eagerly sought and enthusiastically received. Just before the visit here particularly referred to, he had composed a dissertation inquiring into the origin and foundation of certain estates, supposed to be derived from the church in early times. These were the *termon* or *Tearmuin*, privileged lands, which though held by laymen, were exempted from taxation, and subject only to certain dues to bishops or ecclesiastical corporations, from or under whom they were originally supposed to be held. Concerning the precise origin of this tenure, there is yet much ground for dispute. Nor after perusing many statements, should we venture to decide whether the lands in question were possessed in virtue of an original right reserved in the patrons, or an usurpation founded on the abuse of an ecclesiastical office originally administrative simply, or on the encroachments of power under the pretext of protection. The question at that time became important, by reason of the poverty of the sees and endowments of the Irish church, and the anxiety of the king to secure the foundations of the settlement of Ulster—the only real prospect of Irish improvement—by giving extended influence and efficacy to the church. Usher took that view of a difficult subject, which was most favourable to these important views: and to those who weigh the command of authorities, with which he treated the subject, and consider the high integrity and sound judgment of Usher, it will appear that he was as sincere in his inference, as his object was in itself important and beneficent: to him the extension of the church appeared, as it was, an inestimable interest: on this point his zeal is known. But we think that every essential step of his inquiry is encumbered with doubtful questions: and we are by no means inclined to coincide in the sweeping application, by which the ancient estates of ecclesiastical foundations were to be resumed, in favour of king James's churches and sees. Whatever be the true history of the *Tearmuin*, the disputants, ancient and recent, overlook a great principle, which is the foundation of all rights,—prescription: which after a certain lapse of time fixes the right without regard to the manner of its acquisition. This principle, however, may operate in contrary directions, at periods remote from each other: and considering this, the writers who would resist Usher's conclusion, with a view to present right, have perhaps overlooked the principle which makes the discussion nugatory. The property was to be resumed, on the ground that it was still *de jure* ecclesiastical: and the argument could only be met by maintaining some species of usurpation. On this latter supposition, there would be undoubtedly, in the days of James I., a prescription in favour of the persons who were immemorially in possession: but the resumption would in a few generations, by a parity of reasoning, take the place of the original wrong; and the actual right in being become as fixed as that before it. And hence it is, that we see no reason for now going at large into an argument in which the antiquary alone can have any concern. Nevertheless, as the reader may be curious to learn some particulars of the facts of

this question, we shall, without undertaking to do more than our authorities, mention a few of the leading points.

In ancient times we learn from Giraldus and other antiquarian writers, that the endowments of the ancient abbeys and churches fell under the care or protection of their powerful lay neighbours. In times when rights were uncertain and feebly guarded, and when arbitrary proceedings and usurpations constituted rather the rule than the exception, protection, naturally subject to abuse, stole into encroachment, and encroachment into usurpation: the ecclesiastical lands became gradually the possession of the laymen, by whom they were protected and administered, subject to a certain proportion, we believe a third, for the maintenance of the ecclesiastical corporation: and prescription, the mother of right, confirmed this species of estate. The lay proprietor thus constituted, did not, however, suffer any lapse of the privileges attendant upon the original tenure, and the property thus held retained the ecclesiastical privilege of being exempted from taxation. It was thus, according to some antiquarians, called *termon* or *privileged*; in Usher's words, "tearmuin is used in the Irish tongue for a sanctuary." He seems to think the word may have been "borrowed by the Irish, as many other words are, from the Latin, *terminus*, by reason that such privileged places were commonly designed by special marks and bounds: *Terminus sancti loci habeat signa circa se*." So far this ancient state of things is tolerably free from any essential difficulty; but from this so many nice differences exist between antiquarian writers, that we should exhaust pages in endeavouring to cast the balance between them, without after all arriving at any certainty. The holders of the estates above described were called Corban and Eirenach, which latter were inferior in dignity. The Corban, it seems agreed, were sometimes lay and sometimes clerical; but the times and other circumstances are liable to question. We believe the rationale to be this; that in the primitive signification, the words implied certain ecclesiastical offices and dignities connected with the estates, and by an easy and natural transition passing with them into a lay character. The Eirenach were, by the admission of most antiquarians, the archdeacons whose office it was to administer the estates of the church. Concerning the Corbes there is more difficulty: but it is clear, that they were at times lay and at times ecclesiastical; and also that they were persons who held some right in the estates of bishoprics and abbeys. Usher is accused of confounding them with Chorepiscopi, who were monks raised to the episcopal order, without the ecclesiastical power, province, or temporal dignity and estate. The Corban, as well as we can understand writers who have themselves no very clear understanding on the subject, come so nearly to the same thing, that the dispute as to their difference, may well be called *de lana caprina*: according to those learned writers who would make this weighty distinction, they were *successors* to ecclesiastical dignities, and it is further admitted that they were possessed of the estates of the dignitaries in subsequent times, when it is testified by Colgan, that they were mostly laymen. Now considering these premises, we think that the writers who would convict Usher of having

confused these ancient offices, have proceeded on very slight and not absolutely authoritative grounds. It must, however, be admitted, that these offices were not absolutely in their whole extent identical at any time, from the impossibility of the thing. And it must be allowed, that the Corbans were mostly laymen in the time of Colgan, who deposes to the fact. But in reasoning back to their earlier history, we should in the absence of more minute information, incline to agree with Usher's notion, granting it to be insufficiently guarded. The importance of the point then was that it evidently tended to establish the ecclesiastical character of estates vested in the Corban. But we are led beyond our purpose.

As we have said, the difficulties experienced by the king in the ecclesiastical settlement of Ireland, were increased by the conflicting claims of different parties, lay and ecclesiastical: while the clergy put in their claim to considerable portions of his grants. The lay lords possessed, and would, if they were suffered, have held with a firm gripe the lands of the church: according to the king's complaint, "he found the estate of the bishoprics in Ulster much entangled, and altogether unprofitable to the bishops; partly by the challenge which the late temporal Irish lords made to the church's patrimony within their countries, thereby to discourage all men of worth and learning, through want of maintenance, to undertake the care of those places, and to continue the people in ignorance and barbarism, the more easily to lead them into their own measures; and partly by the claims of patentees, who, under colour of abbey and escheated lands, passed by patent many of the church lands, not excepting even the site of cathedral churches, and the place of residence of bishops, deans, and canons, to the great prejudice and decay of religion, and the frustrating his religious intent for the good government and reformation of those parts."*

The condition of the livings, and of the churches, was equally deplorable. To remedy this state of the Irish church, the king ordered a general restitution of these possessions, and that such lands as could be ascertained to have been ecclesiastical, should be restored. At the same time, he ordered that composition should be offered those who held abbey lands, or sites belonging to cathedrals, or other episcopal property. Or in such cases, where a fair equivalent should be refused, that the patents should be vacated by a regular process: in this, proceeding on the not unwarranted assumption of the illegality of the patent. To provide for the inferior clergy, the bishops were engaged to give up their impropriations and their tithes, in consideration of a full equivalent from the crown lands.†

Usher's discourse, which, with great force of reason, and a copious pile of authentic proof, appeared satisfactorily to clear the fact on which the entire arrangement was reposed as its principle of decision, could not fail to be acceptable to the king, who alone is responsible for the application. It was presented by Bancroft, and received with approbation. And such was its importance deemed, that it was translated

* Carte, I. 17

† Carte, Leland, Mant.

into Latin by the celebrated antiquary, Sir Henry Spelman, in whose glossary it was published.

In 1611, when he had attained his 30th year, he was offered the situation of provost in the university. In the infancy of this noble institution, neither the emolument nor dignity of an office which has since, in dignity at least, risen to a level approaching that of the episcopal chair, could be considered as offering a fair compensation for the sacrifice of learned pursuits, of which the extent, interest, and importance, were enough to exact all the time which could be so appropriated; and Usher was independent of the consideration of emolument, so that his refusal may be considered nearly as a consequence. The reader may justly consider the claims of literature at any time, or under any circumstances, insufficient to excuse the refusal of so important a duty; and as an excuse, little reconcileable with the sacred calling, we might refer to the remarks already made in this memoir. But we notice such an objection here to recall the fact, that in Usher's time religion and literature were nearly commensurate; the taste of the age was theology—a fact on which, were we engaged in the history of England or Scotland, we should feel compelled to take a wide range, for the purpose of tracing its vast effects as a political element. Here we need only say, that the structure of our ecclesiastical foundations was still incomplete; and the obscurity of a rude age was filled by a vast mass of floating controversies which embroiled church and state, and finally rushed together like conflicting torrents in the abyss of the civil wars: but the reader will more appropriately recollect the palpable fact of that struggle between adverse churches, on which the fate of his own country then depended: these, and many such considerations, on which we forbear to enter, will convey some sense of the strong leading influences which overruled the course of one who has many claims to be placed high among the most eminent controversial writers of his time. That as a controversialist, such a position may be assigned to Usher, will be admitted on the authority of Milton, who mentions him with bishop Andrews, as the ablest of his opponents in the controversy on Episcopacy.

Of this portion of the eventful life of Usher, we find scanty notices of any personal interest. The growing reputation of the polemic and scholar, is indelibly traced by monuments of toil and genius, and this is doubtless as it should be: such men live in their studies, and survive in their works.

In 1613 he took his degree of D.D., on which occasion he preached his two sermons on Dan. ix. 24, and Rev. xx. 4. These were probably discourses on the topics which they obviously suggest—topics in every way accordant with Usher's views and qualifications, leading as they do into the depths of church history, and largely abounding with the materials for the controversies then most agitated. Of this a reasonable conjecture may be formed from the subject of a great work which he commenced, and in part published in the same year, being his first treatise on the state and succession of the christian churches: a work of great reach and compass, in which, commencing from the termination of the first six centuries, an interval on which

Jewel had perhaps left nothing material unsaid, he showed that a visible church of Christ has always existed, independent of the church of Rome, and untainted with its errors: and that the British islands did not derive their christianity from that church. In the course of his argument, he gives a full and satisfactory account of the Waldenses;—his exposition of the prophecies, as bearing on the history of the christian church, is not in some respects such as to harmonize with the views of modern expositors. This, assuming him to be in this respect erroneous, demands no deduction from our estimate of Usher: the ablest minds have gone astray in the mysterious depths of revelations, which, in a few brief verses, comprehend the events of unborn ages: the dissent of the most powerful and gifted intellects which have enlightened the church, proves how little human faculties can cope with a subject which might have been more plainly delivered, if it were designed to be more surely read. We cannot venture to speak of the quantum of truth or error in the doctrines of the able writers on such a subject as the Millenarian controversy, and this is not the place to express our own views on any topic of controversy. But we ought to observe, that as vast lapses of time are in the Almighty mind compressed into minute points; so on the contrary, in the bounded comprehension of human thought, a little time with its events are expanded into a compass and an importance inordinately large; and thus it seems to have happened that the human mind has in every age been disposed so to narrow the prophetic periods as to conclude the wide drama of time, with the events of the existing age. Of this, there could not indeed be a better illustration than the delusions of the world in every age on the subject of the Millennium, which has always been a dazzling but retreating vision to human enthusiasm. In Usher's expositions on the subject there was undoubtedly none of this alloy; but there was a strong controversial zeal, which found in such views an important accession to his argument. It was, undoubtedly, an adjunct of no slight efficacy against the church of Rome, to find the close of the Millennium with its concurrent events in the eleventh century. In a few years more, this argument might have served a different end. The Millennium has ever been a snare to the passions and imagination: unable to rise to the conception of spiritual objects, men too often make an effort to bring down the promises of divine revelation to the level of their senses; and the passions seldom fail to steal in and give their own carnal colouring to the picture. To the truth of this representation, many a dark page in church history bears witness. Usher lived to see an awful example, how such vain and sinful adulterations of divine truth might become an awful ingredient in the caldron of human crime and wrath, when the fifth-monarchy men, in the frenzy of no holy fanaticism, rushed knee-deep in blood and blasphemy to realize their dream of the saints' reign on earth.

Usher's work was presented by Abbot to the king, to whom it was dedicated. The king had himself, some years before, written a book to prove the Pope to be Antichrist, and was highly pleased with the presentation. The main line of argument is one which the labour of after-time has not deprived of its value, either by successful rivalry or opposition. The proof, that there have existed in every age, churches,

founded on the doctrine and testimony of scripture, independent of and opposed in vain by the Roman see, remains beyond the reach of controversy. Many able modern writers have taken up this important subject, and it is one which cannot be too often brought forward by such writers as maintain the side of protestantism. But little can be said that Usher has left unsaid. The work was only pursued to the fourteenth century: in a letter, written some years after, he mentions his intention to complete it, on the appearance of his uncle Stanyhurst's work in answer to the first part, then sent to be printed in Paris. This intention was never carried into effect, it is said owing to the loss of his papers in the confusion of the rebellion.

In this year Usher married the daughter of his old friend Chaloner. This marriage had been earnestly desired by Chaloner, who is said to have expressed the wish in his last will. Both parties were inclined conformably to a desire which was founded on his anxiety for the happiness of his daughter, and his deep impression of the worth and sterling value of his friend. The marriage was celebrated, and we believe added essentially to the happiness of both.

The next affair in which Usher appears to have taken a part, which strongly indicates the rising ascendancy of his character, demands notice also by reason of its importance in the history of the Irish church. From the first introduction of the reformation into Ireland, there had formally at least been a strict agreement of doctrine and discipline between the protestant churches in the two countries. The English articles and canons, as well as the liturgy, had been received and agreed to in this island, and there was a generally understood, if not formal, acknowledgment of subordination to the superior authority of the English church. Many circumstances arising out of the state and changes of theological opinions; and the peculiar constituency of the Irish clergy at this time led to a considerable revolution in this respect. Of these causes, a slight sketch will be here enough.

Soon after the reformation, a vast change came over the character of theological studies, which cannot be better illustrated than by the fact that, in the latter part of the fifteenth century, upwards of fifty elaborate works were written, to explain and apply the scriptures and writings of the earlier fathers of the church. But under any combination of circumstances, human nature, still the same, must be productive of the same fruits. The same disposition to frame systems, to give a preponderant weight to unessential points, and on these to run into divisions and sects, which first enfeebled and obscured, and afterwards continued through a long train of ages to overrun with briars the dilapidated walls of the church, still continued in its revival to manifest its fatal efficiency in various ways. The protestant church was unhappily not more free from divisions than that from the communion of which it had departed: but the light and the liberty which were after ten centuries restored, had the effect of making these divisions more perceptible. From this many consequences had arisen, of which we can here notice but a few which are involved in this period of our church history. We need not travel back to trace the progress of dissent in England, after the clergy, who, during queen Mary's

reign, had fled for refuge from the rack and faggot into the shelter of foreign protestant churches, at her death came back laden with the tenets of those churches: from that period religious dissent in England grew broader in its lines of separation, and more decisive in its consequences, till times beyond those in which we are engaged. In Ireland the difficulty of finding qualified ministers for the poor and barbarous livings of the country, excluded much nicety of selection on the part of the government, and numerous ministers were imported, of whose practical qualifications in every respect it is impossible to speak justly, save in terms of profound reverence and courtesy: christian in life, spirit, and teaching, they were nevertheless variously distinguishable by their dissent on some points of doctrine and ecclesiastical polity on which the articles of agreement in all christian churches must needs be distinct and explicit within certain limits. Though entitled thus to all our respect as christian brethren, a question mainly political in its nature arises (with reference to the period), how far an apparent schism in the bosom of the protestant church, at such a time and in such circumstances, must have been detrimental to Ireland. Among the prominent facts which may be specified, as of immediate importance to this memoir, was the general disposition of the Irish clergy to the doctrinal tenets of Geneva. This tendency probably gave activity to their desire of independence of the English church, which, considering the distinct polity of the two kingdoms, their common government, and the consequences essentially resulting from these two conditions, was natural. To secure this independence, a strong temper had therefore been some time increasing, and in 1614, when a parliament and convocation were held in Dublin, the Irish clergy gave their consent to one hundred and four articles drawn up by Usher, whom superior learning and authority had recommended as the fittest person for so nice and difficult a task.

Of these articles, it is neither the business of these memoirs, nor our inclination, to say anything in detail—we must keep aloof from the labyrinth of pure polemics. Our business is with history. The history of these articles may, and must, here be told in a few words. They were founded on the well-known articles, drawn up by Whitgift in the year 1594, in concert with deputies from the university of Cambridge, then the centre and stronghold of English dissent. They are known by the title of the “Nine Articles of Lambeth,” and as may be inferred from their source, were favourable to the views then uppermost in the Irish church. In England, it should be observed, that they never became law, having been rejected by the queen, advised by Andrews, Overall, and other eminent divines, and withdrawn by Whitgift, who proposed them as private articles of agreement between the universities, to reconcile the differences of which is said to have been the ostensible pretext of their composition. They were again proposed by Reynolds, the puritan divine, at the conference before the king at Hampton court, among other less important (though still vital) conditions of agreement between the church and the puritan clergy, who had not then in England adopted the principle of presbyterian government, although it was on this celebrated occasion sufficiently involved,

so as (perhaps) to be the principal means to secure the rejection of the whole.

The Lambeth articles were ingrafted by Usher into the draught of articles adopted by the Irish convocation, and by the king's consent these were confirmed as the articles of the Irish church. We cannot further stop to detail the character and scope of these articles.* They were in the highest degree Calvinistic. In proof of this it may be enough for us to state, without any comment, a portion of the article "of God's eternal decree and predestination," as follows:—"By the same eternal counsel, God hath predestinated some unto life, and reprobated some unto death; of both which there is a certain number, known only to God, which can neither be increased nor diminished."

Other peculiarities of these articles we shall again have occasion to notice, when after no long interval they once more were brought into discussion. They were now received and confirmed in this convocation, and for a time continued to be received and signed as the articles of the Irish church. They had the effect in Ireland of setting at rest all present differences between the two main bodies of the protestant clergy. In England, however, this act appears to have been very much looked upon as the result of a conspiracy to strengthen the party of the English Calvinists, by obtaining a strong party in Ireland.

Such was probably the spirit in which the agency of Usher on that occasion was censured in the English court. The king's sense on the subject was actuated by opposing considerations. He had professed his assent and favour towards the doctrines of Calvinism, while he hated the puritans, whose views of church government he considered as inconsistent with the rights of kings—the point on which alone he cherished any sincere zeal. It was conveyed in whispers to the royal ear, that Usher was a puritan, and it was understood that the king entertained towards him a distrust unfavourable to his hopes of preferment. But Usher stood far too high at this time, in the esteem of all who were in any way influential in either country, for the whispering of private rivalry to be long suffered to remain unchecked by contradiction. Such prejudices as may have been thus raised, had but time to become observable, when, in 1619, the lord-deputy (St John) and council took up the matter with creditable zeal, and urged him to go over to England, with a letter which they wrote to the privy council, to vindicate his character. In this letter they mentioned the reports and calumnies which were supposed to have influenced the king, and testify to the truth, in the following high and strong representation:—"We are so far from suspecting him in that kind, that we may boldly recommend him to your lordships, as a man orthodox and worthy to govern in the church, when occasion shall be presented, and his majesty may be pleased to advance him; he being a man who has given himself over to his profession, an excellent and painful preacher, a modest man, abounding in goodness, and his life and doctrine so agreeable, [con-

* To those who wish for general information, enough may be found in Mant's History of the Irish Church; in which, by judicious selection, a fair outline is given of a subject otherwise beyond the compass of common readers.

formable with each other,] as those who agree not with him, are yet constrained to love and admire him."

With this favourable testimony, Usher passed over to England, and had a long conference with the king, who was highly satisfied with his opinions and delighted with his learning, judgment, and masterly command of thought and language. Happily, during Usher's sojourn in London, the bishoprick of Meath fell vacant, and the king nominated him at once to that see, and boasted that "Usher was a bishop of his own making; and that, although indeed the knave puritan was a bad man, the knave's puritan was an honest man."

The appointment gave universal satisfaction; for by this time Usher stood high with the learned of Europe. By the learned he was respected for his talent and erudition, while his worth obtained friends, even among those to whom his profession and known doctrines were ungrateful. "Even some papists have largely testified their gladness of it," wrote the lord-deputy, in a letter of congratulation on the occasion. He preached soon after in St Margaret's church, before the English house of commons, who ordered the sermon to be printed. It was a discourse on transubstantiation, from 1 Cor. x. 17. The occasion was such as to set in a very strong aspect the general respect for Usher's controversial ability. The commons had, it seems, conceived the idea that some of the Romish communion had obtained seats, and it was considered that the most satisfactory test would be afforded by the sacrament, for which the house appointed Sunday, 18th Feb., 1620. The prebendaries of Westminster claimed their privilege, but the house, with its characteristic tenacity, insisted on its own choice. King James was at the time engaged in a matrimonial negotiation for prince Henry with the Spanish Infanta, and shrunk from a proceeding which set in a glaring public light the national creed, which, it was feared, might offend the bigotry of that superstitious court; but having been appealed to on the occasion, he signified his preference of Usher. On the Tuesday previous to this anxious occasion, "being Shrove-Tuesday, Usher dined with the king, and had much conversation on the subject." Of this his own account remains:—"He [the king] said I had an unruly flock to look unto the next Sunday. He asked me how I thought it could stand with true divinity, that so many hundred should be tied, on so short a warning, to receive the communion on a day: all could not be in charity after so late contentions in the house. Many must come without preparation, and eat their own condemnation: that himself required his whole household to receive the communion, but not on the same day, unless at Easter, when the whole Lent was a time of preparation. He bade me tell them I hoped they were all prepared, but wished they might be better; to exhort them to unity and concord; to love God first, and then their prince and their country; to look to the urgent necessities of the times, and the miserable state of Christendom, with *bis dat, qui cito dat*." This practical concluding application of the royal divinity, so ludicrously characteristic of the speaker, must probably have exacted some power of countenance in his hearers.

On returning to Ireland, Usher was consecrated by primate Hampton, 1621, at Drogheda, where consecrations by the primate had

commonly been solemnized, on account of the jealousy of the archbishops of Dublin, while the point of precedence remained yet undecided between the sees of Armagh and Dublin. Usher entered on the duties of his see with the alacrity and prudence which had till then marked his character. The conduct he pursued to the members of the church of Rome was gentle but firm: their conversion had ever been one of the principal objects of his life, to which his researches and preaching had been mainly directed. He now endeavoured to win them by gentleness and persuasion. It was his wish to preach to them: they objected to coming to church, but consented to attend and hear him anywhere out of church. Usher borrowed the sessions' house, and his sermon was so impressive and effectual, that the people were forbidden by the priests to attend any more.

On the proceedings of the missionaries of this church in Ireland, at the period at which we are now arrived, we have already had occasion to offer some notices: some little further detail will now be necessary to explain justly the conduct of our bishop in a proceeding which drew upon him some very unmerited obloquy. At this time it so happened, that numerous friars had begun to flock into the kingdom, and the see of Rome had begun to assume a determined and earnest line of policy, with reference to the extension of its pale, and Ireland came in for an ample share of the mighty mother's regard. This fact may itself be generally explained to the reader, by an event of distinguished importance in the history of the Roman see—the institution of the congregation of the Propaganda, fertile in consequence, and itself the consequence of a vast infusion of fresh life, which took place in the year following Usher's promotion. On this point, a letter written in 1633, from the bishop of Kilmore to the bishop of London, gives an authoritative view of the essential particulars. The writer mentions, "That in that crown [of Ireland] the Pope had a far greater kingdom than his majesty had; that the said kingdom of the Pope was governed by the new congregation, *de propaganda fide*, established not long since at Rome; that the Pope had there a clergy depending on him, double in number to the English, the heads of which were bound by a corporal oath to maintain his power and greatness, against all persons whatsoever; that for the moulding of the people to the Pope's obedience, there was a rabble of irregular regulars, most of them the younger sons of noble houses, which made them the more insolent and uncontrollable; that the Pope had erected an university in Dublin, to confront his majesty's college there, and breed up the youth of the kingdom to his devotion, one Harris being dean thereof, who had dispersed a scandalous pamphlet against the lord-primate's sermon preached at Wansteed, (one of the best pieces that ever came from him,) anno 1629; that since the dissolving of their new friaries in the city of Dublin, they had erected them in the country, and had brought the people to such a sottish negligence, that they cared not to learn the commandments as God spake them and left them, but flocked in multitudes to the hearing of such superstitious doctrines as some of their own priests were ashamed of; that a synodical meeting of their clergy had been held lately at Drogheda, in the province of Ulster, in which it was decreed, that it was not lawful to take the oath of al-

legiance, and therefore, that in such a conjuncture of affairs, to think that the bridle of the army might be taken away, must be the thought, not of a brain-sick, but of a brainless man, which whosoever did endeavour, not only would oppose his majesty's service, but expose his own neck to the skeans of those Irish cut-throats.* This is but one of many such authentic documents, from which it appears that a change of tone and spirit began to elevate in Ireland the head of a power and party so often subdued in vain. Fears began to be excited among those who had lived long enough to recall the miseries and terrors of old times: the authority of Usher was insulted, by a repetition of scenes which had often signalized the approach of troublesome times, and the reader may recollect the long-cherished anticipation to which every year had added new strength in his mind. He saw in everything that occurred the pregnant signs of the war to come: and whatever was his error in theory, his conjectures were at least coincident with events, and the inference is not unworthy of attentive consideration. A true anticipation, though it should be the chance result of human error, is still as certain a clue to appearances, as if it had been derived from the infallibility of demonstration. Usher, if at first right by error, must have looked with an enlightened eye on passing events; for in the sequence of human affairs, the causes are easier to deduce from the consequence, than the consequences from the cause: a cause may undergo a thousand modifications, which may any one change the event, but the event necessarily fixes the series of which it is the result. It is thus easy to apprehend how, in adopting a consequence truly, Usher became possessed of a principle of interpretation, which, however obtained, must have opened his eyes to the future. Had he been inclined to sleep on his post, as an overseer of the church, the authorities of the papal power in Ireland were to be accused of no relaxation, and there was no mixture of fear or conciliation in the course of conduct which confronted him even in his own diocese. They had not only forbidden attendance on the protestant churches, but went so far as in some places to seize on them for their own use. They also had erected or repaired ecclesiastical edifices at Multifernan, Kilconnel, Buttevant, &c., &c., as also in the cities of Waterford and Kilkenny, with the express intention of restoring the "ancient religion" in its imagined splendour of old times. These significant indications had, in Usher's time, not diminished under the increasing relaxation of civil vigilance. The relaxation was doubtless in itself salutary, and the result of a great natural process of society, by which severe and harsh laws fall into disuse as the necessity for them decreases—a provision for the advances of civilization. But in Ireland such processes have been ever unhappily neutralized by interferences as wise as the attempt to promote the growth of a plant by a mechanical force; and no sooner were the fears and animosities of troubled times beginning to lose their force, than they were doomed to be re-excited into a festered vitality, by the renewal of the ancient indications of the periodical eruptions of national folly and fury; and the inefficiency of the Irish executive government supplied no counterbalance to this deeply and widely gather-

* *Life of Laud*, by Heylin.

ing evil. A mist of perpetual infatuation hung suspended over Dublin castle—artful misrepresentations, fallacious appeals, and the abuse of general principles, the misunderstanding of which has ever constituted a large portion of the wisdom of public men—false equity, false clemency, and false public spirit, with wrong notions both of human nature and the social state, united with private interest, timidity, and indolence, to preserve the still and dignified repose of the administration, till the moment of danger was present. To the class of imbecile officials, of which an Irish government has been too often composed, tardy to meet danger, though often ready enough to be vindictive in the hour of triumph, Usher had no affinity: he was neither yielding from weakness that fears, or vanity that courts the popular sense. As he had been zealous to conciliate by love, and convince by reason, so he was ready to repress, by just and salutary exercise of the law, when he considered that the necessity had arisen. That such was the real import of every indication of the times was indeed a truth, but it is enough that it was the impression of his mind, and this consideration may satisfy the reader of the real character of the conduct which at this period of his career excited much clamour among his enemies, and surprised some of his friends, when he made a strong appeal to the lord Falkland, on being desired to preach before him on his arrival as lord-deputy, when he received the sword of state. On this occasion, Usher took for his text, “He beareth not the sword in vain,” and so strongly urged the duty of enforcing the laws, that an outcry was excited. He was accused by foes and reproached by friends; but the fury of those against whom the weight of his counsel seemed levelled, was such as to create considerable alarm. Nothing less than a massacre of the papists was reported to be the subject of his advice. It was strongly urged upon him to prevent, by a “voluntary retraction,” the complaints which were in preparation against him, and for a time to withdraw into his diocese. Such was the sum of the advice of the good primate Hampton, his old friend and patron. Usher was a man of more firm mettle, or if not, at least more truly awake to the real emergencies of the time. He addressed a letter to lord Grandison, in which he firmly maintained his own conduct, and vindicated himself from the perversions of his sense. He pointed out and insisted on the fact, that he had guarded against such misconstructions, and deprecated persecution. Indeed, considering the actual attitude of defiance which had at that moment been taken by the Romish friars, the mere notion of persecution having been thought of by any party sincerely, is extremely absurd. Usher’s representations were not only just and wise, but moderate; but no moderation can silence the clamour that is never sincere, or be enough for those who prefer inaction, or who can see no danger less than a tempest or conflagration. Nevertheless, Usher’s vindictory letter had the effect of silencing many who had no desire to provoke inquiry, and all who were open to reason; and as there were many who entered fully in the same views, the effect was that of a triumph. The primate in his letter seems to have delicately impressed upon Usher his opinion on the inclination which appeared in his conduct, to pass his time in the city rather than in his diocese; and it will be generally allowed, that for the most part, the proper place for

a bishop is among his clergy, where his duties lie. But we have already, in this memoir, expressed at sufficient length the grounds upon which men such as Usher must ever be looked on in some measure as exceptions. In that early stage of literature, when the structure of our theological foundations demanded so much of that ability and skill which were yet more difficult to attain, men like him must have felt the call to fill the place of master-builders. It may, we grant, be said, that there is no necessity why they should be bishops, and in our own time we should be inclined to allow something for the point; for the demands of christian theology are very much diminished. It seems, indeed, hard, that the most able writers should at any time be excluded from the highest stations. This is, however, but specious; such persons may find their reward and their vocation elsewhere.

The position of the protestant church in Ireland was then peculiar; and we know not whether we must give credit to Usher's sagacity, or suppose his mind and temper cast providentially for the exigency of the times; but his conduct with regard to the presbyterian clergy was not only indulgent, but marked by a liberality which, though called for by the state of the Irish church, might in other times have exposed him to the charge of being somewhat latitudinarian. He allowed several who yet continued to be presbyterians, to retain their cures, though they rejected the liturgy; and allowed presbyters to join him in the ordination of such as adhered to that communion. In answer to the objection which seems to be suggested by this departure from the fundamental principle of the existence of a church, (the strict maintenance of its own constitution,) it must be said, that without this he should have had many benefices utterly unprovided with a clergyman. And it must be allowed, that when such an alternative is unhappily imposed, the essential interests of christianity should be considered beyond all comparison above the minor, though still important question of churches. Not to be ourselves open to the same charge, we should distinctly say that this allowance is evidently limited by the assumption which the immediate case admits of—that both churches agree in those articles of doctrine which are essential to the christian faith.

Less equivocal were the exertions he made to reform and recruit the ministry of his diocese, by the care he took as to their qualifications for the sacred calling, and the assiduous exertions he made to ensure the improvement of those who were in preparation for holy orders. He omitted no proper means to ascertain the moral and spiritual character of those who came to his ordinations, acting with conscientious strictness in the spirit of the apostolic precept, "*Lay hands suddenly upon no man.*" The judicious advice which he gave to the theological students, we may for brevity here offer, as given by Dr Parr.

"1st, Read and study the scriptures carefully, wherein is the best learning, and only infallible truth. They can furnish you with the best materials for your sermons—the only rules for faith and practice—the most powerful motives to persuade and convince the conscience—and the strongest arguments to confute all errors, heresies, and schisms. Therefore, be sure let all your sermons be congruous to

them; and it is expedient that you understand them as well in the originals as in the translations.

"2d, Take not hastily up other men's opinions without due trial, nor vent your own conceits; but compare them first with the analogy of faith and rules of holiness recorded in the scriptures, which are the proper tests of all opinions and doctrines.

"3d, Meddle with controversies and doubtful points as little as may be in your popular preaching, lest you puzzle your hearers, or engage them in wrangling disputations, and so hinder their conversion, which is the main end of preaching.

"4th, Insist more on those points which tend to effect sound belief, sincere love to God, repentance for sin, and that may persuade to holiness of life. Press these things home to the consciences of your hearers, as of absolute necessity, leaving no gap for evasions; but bind them as closely as may be to their duty. And as you ought to preach sound and orthodox doctrine, so ought you to deliver God's message as near as may be in God's words; that is, in such as are plain and intelligible, that the meanest of your auditors may understand. To which end it is necessary to back all the precepts and doctrines with apt proofs from holy scriptures; avoiding all exotic phrases, scholastic terms, unnecessary quotations from authors, and forced rhetorical figures, since it is not difficult to make easy things appear hard; but to render hard things easy, is the hardest part of a good orator as well as preacher.

"5th, Get your heart sincerely affected with the things you persuade others to embrace, that so you may preach experimentally, and your hearers may perceive that you are in good earnest, and press nothing upon them but what may tend to their advantage, and which yourself would enter your salvation on.

"6th, Study and consider well the subjects you intend to preach on, before you come into the pulpit, and then words will readily offer themselves. Yet think what you are about to say before you speak, avoiding all uncouth fantastical words or phrases, or nauseous or ridiculous expressions, which will quickly bring your preaching into contempt, and make your sermons and person the subjects of sport and ridicule.

"7th, Dissemble not the truths of God in any case, nor comply with the lusts of men, nor give any countenance to sin by word or deed.

"8th, But above all, you must never forget to order your own conversation as becomes the gospel, that so you may teach by example as well as precept, and that you may appear a good divine everywhere, as well as in the pulpit; for a minister's life and conversation is more heeded than his doctrine

"9th, Yet, after all this, take heed that you be not puffed up with spiritual pride of your own virtues, nor with a vain conceit of your parts and abilities; nor yet be transported with the praise of men, nor be dejected or discouraged by the scoffs or frowns of the wicked or profane."

"He would also," says Dr Parr, "exhort those who were already engaged in this holy function, and advise them how they might well

discharge their duty in the church of God, answerably to their calling, to this effect:—You are engaged in an excellent employment in the church, and intrusted with weighty matters, as stewards of our Great Master, Christ, the Great Bishop. Under him, and by his commission, you are to endeavour to reconcile men to God, to convert sinners, and build them up in the holy faith of the gospel, and that they may be saved, and that repentance and remission of sins may be preached in his name. This is of the highest importance, and requires faithfulness, diligence, prudence, and watchfulness. The souls of men are committed to our care and guidance, and the eyes of God, angels, and men, are upon us, and great is the account we must make to our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the supreme head of his church, and will at length reward or punish his servants in this ministry of his gospel, as he shall find them faithful or negligent. Therefore it behoves us to exercise our best talents, labouring in the Lord's vineyard with all diligence, that we may bring forth fruit, and that the fruit may remain.

"This is work we are separated for and ordained unto. We must not think to be idle or careless in this office, but must bend our minds and studies, and employ all our gifts and abilities in this service. We must preach the word of faith, that men may believe aright, and the doctrine and laws of godliness, that men may act as becomes Christians indeed. For without faith no man can please God; and without holiness no man can enter into the kingdom of heaven."

From his chaplain, Dr Bernard, we learn that it was his custom to preach in the church on the Sunday mornings, "after which," says the Doctor, "in the afternoon this was his order to me, that, besides the catechising the youth before public prayers, I should, after the first and second lessons, spend about half an hour in briefly and plainly opening the principles of religion in the public catechism, and after that I was to preach also. First, he directed me to go through the creed alone, giving but the sum of each article; then next time at thrice, and afterwards each time an article, as they might be more able to bear it; and so proportionably, the ten commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the doctrine of the sacraments, the good fruit of which was apparent in the vulgar people upon their approach unto the communion, when, as by the then order, the names of the receivers were to be given in, so some account was constantly taken of their fitness for it."

By these extracts from the memorial of an eye-witness, it is evident that however assiduous he was in his important studies, Usher cannot be described as remiss in the duties of his sacred vocation. He visited his clergy—instructed them—reproved and controlled when it was necessary—directed and aided their efforts—and, when in the discharge of their duties they met with such resistance and incurred such reproach, as was a natural result from the state of the country, he stood up firmly in their behalf. He also gave much attention to the correction of abuses which had become established in the ecclesiastical courts. In this his sound prudence, however, restrained him, and prevented his going to the length to which Bedell was led by his zeal for right, and primitive simplicity of nature.

During his continuance in the diocese of Meath, many interesting

instances of the benevolent sagacity of Usher's character have been transmitted; we may here select a case, which is rather curious in itself, as a specimen of that derangement which not unfrequently clouds the retirement of studious persons of weak understanding and enthusiastic temper. A clergyman of the diocese, a man of very retired and studious habits, had fallen into the notion that the restoration of the Jews was to be effected by his instrumentality. This insane delusion was reported to Usher, who has given his own account of the circumstances, together with an account of his treatment of another case of the same nature:—"I sent for the party, and upon conference had with him, I put him in mind that his conceits were contrary to the judgment of the church of Christ, from the beginning of the gospel unto this day, and that of old they were condemned for heretical in the Nazarites. But finding that for the present he was not to be wrought upon by any reasoning, and that time was the only means to cure him of this sickness, I remembered what course I had heretofore held with another in this country, who was so far engaged in this opinion of the calling of the Jews, (though not of the revoking of Judaism,) that he was strongly persuaded he himself should be the man that should effect this great work, and to this purpose wrote an Hebrew epistle, (which I have still in my hands,) directed to the dispersed Jews. To reason the matter with him I found bootless. I advised him, therefore, that until the Jews did gather themselves together, and make choice of him for their captain, he should labour to benefit his countrymen at home, with that skill he had attained unto in the Hebrew tongue. I wished him, therefore, to give us an exact translation of the Old Testament out of the Hebrew verity, which he accordingly undertook and performed. The translation I have by me, but before he had finished that task, his conceit of the calling of the Jews, and his captainship over them, vanished clean away, and was never heard of after.

"In like manner I dealt with Mr Whitehall; that forasmuch as he himself acknowledged that the Mosaic rites were not to be practised until the general calling of the Jews, he might do well, I said, to let that matter rest till then, and in the mean time, keep his opinion to himself, and not bring needless trouble upon himself and others, by divulging it out of season. And whereas he had intended to write an historical discourse of the retaining of Judaism under Christianity, I counselled him rather to spend his pains in setting down the history of purgatory, or invocation of saints, or some of the other points in controversy betwixt the church of Rome and us." This advice so far prevailed with Mr Whitehall, that he "offered to bind himself to forbear meddling any way with his former opinions, either in public or in private, and to spend his time in any other employment that should be imposed upon him."

A little after his accession to the see of Meath, a work written by Malone, a Jesuit, had attracted very considerable attention. In this the protestants were challenged to try their church by the test of antiquity: a daring test assuredly, to be appealed to by a church splendidly conspicuous for the well-marked chronology of every portion of its own vast and powerful architecture. Usher took up the

challenge, and wrote a reply which exhibited the extent and precision of his ecclesiastical and theological reading: in this he successively passed in review all those tenets the growth of several centuries by which the church of Rome is distinguished from that of the Reformation.

Some time previous to this incident, he had produced a tract, to which we have had some occasion to refer in the first division of these memoirs, upon "the religion of the ancient Irish and Britons." It unanswerably established the independence of the primitive churches of the British isles: and has never been met unless by that class of reasonings which in raising a cloud of uncertain learning about minute details, contrive to shut out of sight the entire question. The effect of this sketch, was a great accession to the high reputation of the bishop; and the king, who justly considered the importance of the subject, and desired to see a work of greater extent and scope, ordered that Usher should have a license from the Irish counsel, releasing him from attendance in his diocese, that he might be enabled to pursue in England, the literary researches which such a work would require. Usher accordingly passed over to England, where he was engaged in the assiduous pursuit and acquisition of the most ancient and authentic materials, which give such inestimable value and such high authority to his great work on the antiquities of the British churches.

He was thus for some time engaged, and had returned from a visit into Ireland, which was signalized by the above-related adventure with Malone: when primate Hampton departed this life, Jan. 3, 1625. On this occasion the king raised Usher at once to the head of the Irish church. This occurred but six days before the death of king James, which took place March 27, 1625.

"The reign of king James," writes bishop Mant, has "exhibited the church of Ireland with features similar to those which marked it under the preceding reign, but exemplified in a greater variety of instances. In the province of Leinster from the archdiocese of Dublin, and from the suffragan united diocese of Ferns and Leighlin, the like complaints have been heard of an insufficiency of ministers, of an incompetency of clerical income, and of a want of material edifices for the celebration of divine worship; and the complaints have been echoed through the province of Ulster, from every diocese, with one solitary exception, which there is no reason to suppose occasioned by any peculiar advantages which it possessed over the others.

"In Ulster, indeed, the king testified his desire to improve the condition of the church, by grants of land to the clergy, but in many cases his good intentions were defeated by an inadequate execution—and although in some instances efforts were made for fixing the clergy in their proper residences, and for supplying them with buildings for their official ministrations, the existing evils do not appear to have been ever fairly grappled with by the governing powers, or to have called forth a great and simultaneous effort for their remedy, so that the members of the church were left in a condition of lamentable destitution, as to the means of assembling for public worship and instruction, or receiving the aid of pastoral guidance for themselves or their children; and the rural districts in particular are described as presenting a spectacle of almost total abandonment and desolation.

"The same observations as to the absence of co-operating and combined exertions, under the auspices of the authorities of the kingdom, applies to the attempts made for the instruction of the people at large by the instrumentality of the Irish language. Many instances have fallen under our own notice, of the existence of Irish incumbents or curates, of Irish readers, and Irish clerks: but these provisions seem to have been the result of individual projects of improvement, rather than of a general and united effort of authority. At the same time they were met by united and vigorous exertions on the part of the popish emissaries."*

Among the numerous causes which we have from time to time had to trace or enumerate, as contributing to the protraction of the calamities and sufferings of this island, as well as to the tardiness of growth which has characterized our advance in the progress of civilization, there is none which demands a larger portion of the attention than that described in the preceding extract. But the reader must ere this be aware that it offers topics of reflection, and demands statements and reasonings which are in a great measure inconsistent with the tone of a popular history. In some measure it is true, our facts are so broad in their necessary connexion with the whole fortune of the country: and her history so essentially turns upon the collisions of opposing creeds and the policy of the Roman see, that some may read with a smile our frequent profession of impartiality. We are compelled to state our opinion, that the inadequacy of the machinery of the protestant church in Ireland, for the discharge of its humanizing functions, was the radical defect in the conduct of the legislature and administration. The violent actions and re-actions of insurrection and oppression—the frenzy of the deluded populace, or the sanctioned plunder of official knavery, were but nearer or remoter effects of one elemental force that raised the waters of confusion. If it must be admitted that the evils of an insecure tranquillity and a control inefficient without the aid of arms and military intervention, on one hand, or on the other, the anarchy of civil commotion must be the necessary alternatives resulting from a state of things, in which an alien jurisdiction was maintained by a democratic influence, wholly distinct from and inconsistent with the constitution of the national polity; and such an inference cannot be avoided: then it must be admitted, that the *political* agency of the church of Rome in Ireland, was irreconcilable with the welfare of the country; and that a liberal extension and due support of the Reformed church—at that time the powerful engine of human advance in all respects, moral, intellectual, and social—was the only means of remedying the wretched condition of the country. If any of our enlightened readers, may by a momentary forgetfulness of history, or by losing sight of the fact that we are speaking of a remote period, think that there is anything illiberal in the spirit of these inevitable reflections, let us remind them, that there was once a time when the supremacy of the Roman see was a real and undisguised empire over the councils of kings, and that this power had been attained and was exercised by the very instrumentality then so con-

* History of the Church of Ireland.

spicuous in the troubled vicissitudes of Irish affairs. On this point no educated person of any creed or party is deceived. And even if the devoted member of the Romish communion may demur as to the principle which would lay any stress on civil prosperity, or any merely secular consideration in a question which he may reason on purely spiritual grounds, yet he must be compelled to admit, that the extension of the church which would for ever have put an end to the internal striving of an external spirit—the force irreconcilable with the law of the system in which it worked, would in a secular sense have been a great and manifest advantage to Ireland.

Usher's appointment to the primacy, was followed by a severe fit of illness, which retained him in England to experience the favour of king Charles, who ordered him four hundred pounds out of the Irish treasury.

But his delay in England led to an incident of much interest, which had a very material influence on his after-life, when the foundations of society, and the fortunes of individuals came to be turned up and scattered into confusion by the civil wars. Hereceived and accepted an invitation to the seat of lord Mordaunt, afterwards earl of Peterborough. Lord Mordaunt was a member of the church of Rome, but his lady was a protestant. As it commonly happens, the lady was perhaps more earnest in her spiritual convictions than her lord, and therefore more alive to an uneasy sense of the difference of faith between them. Usher's character was universally renowned as the great champion of his own church, and his visit was looked for with anxious hope by lady Mordaunt, as the likely means for the conversion of her lord. Such an effect might, perhaps, have been of more difficult attainment than her sanguine trust might have foreseen: the tenets of most men are little dependant on their foundation in reason or authority, and are as little to be shaken by mere argument: there is a conventional sense among the bulk of men, that every side of a question can be made good until the opposite side is heard, and large deductions are mostly made by the ignorant for sophistry and probable misrepresentation. An antagonist is therefore no unessential requisite for popular conviction, and such an advantage was not wanting on the occasion to Usher's success. Happily for the wishes of lady Mordaunt, there lived with the family a man of reputed learning, piety, and controversial skill, and a jesuit. It was soon arranged that this person should engage in a regular disputation with Usher. Each was for three days to maintain the defensive against such objections as his antagonist should think fit to bring, and in his turn assume the offensive and urge his own objections. For the first three days, Usher carried on his assault, with what vigour and learning may be estimated from his known writings. The jesuit seems to have been decidedly shaken by the force of his attack; for when it came to his own turn to be opponent—which it will be recollected is necessarily the easiest part—he sent the strange but yet characteristic excuse, that he had been deservedly punished by the forgetfulness of his arguments, for having presumed to engage in such a contest without the permission of the superior of his order. The result was such as should be expected: lord Mordaunt soon declared his adhesion to the reformed

church, and the archbishop obtained a fast and faithful friend, and a providential asylum in the hour of need.

The new archbishop was congratulated on all sides on his promotion. But the letter of the bishop of Kilmore upon the occasion, may be here extracted as the most convenient and interesting illustration of the preceding reflections, and as best fulfilling the historic portion of our task. It is cited by Dr Mant, as "opening a general prospect of the actual condition of the Irish church" at the time.

"Most Reverend and my honourable good Lord

"I do congratulate with unspeakable joy and comfort, your preferment, and that both out of the true and unfeigned love I have ever borne you for many years continued, as also out of an assured and most firm persuasion that God hath ordained you a special instrument for the good of the Irish church, the growth whereof, notwithstanding all his majesty's endowments and directions, receives every day more impediments than ever. And that not only in Ulster, but begins to spread itself into other places; so that the inheritance of the church is made arbitrary at the council table; impropiators in all places may hold all ancient customs, only they, upon whom the cure of souls is laid, are debarred. St Patrick's Ridges which you know belonged to the fabric of that church, are taken away: within the diocese of Armagh, the whole clergy being all poor vicars and curates, by a declaration of one of the judges this last circuit, (by what direction I know not,) without speedy remedy will be brought to much decay, the which I rather mention, because it is within your province. The more is taken away from the king's clergy, the more accrues to the pope's; and the servitors and undertakers, who should be instruments for settling a church, do hereby advance their rents, and make the church poor.

"In a word, in all consultations which concern the church, not the advice of sages, but of young counsellors is followed. With all the particulars the *agents* whom we have sent over will fully acquaint you, to whom I rest assured your lordship will afford your countenance and best assistance. And, my good lord, now remember that you sit at the stern, not only to guide us in a right course, but to be continually in action, and standing in the watchtower to see that the church receive no hurt. I know my lord's Grace of Canterbury will give his best furtherance to the cause, to whom I do not doubt, but after you have fully possessed yourself thereof, you will address yourself. And so, with the remembrance of my love and duty unto you, praying for the perfect recovery of your health.

"I rest your lordship's most true and faithful servant to command,

"THO. KILMORE."

March 26th, 1625.

"Being now returned into his native country," says Dr Parr, "and settled in this great charge (having not only many churches but dioceses under his care), he began carefully to inspect his own diocese first, and the manners and abilities of those clergy, by personal visitations; admonishing those he found faulty, and giving excellent advice

and directions to the rest, charging them to use the liturgy of the church in all public administrations, and to make the Holy Scriptures the rule, as well as the subject of their doctrine and sermons. Nor did he only endeavour to reform the clergy, among whom, in so large a diocese, and where there was so small encouragement, there could not but be many things amiss; but also the proctors, apparitors, and other officers of his ecclesiastical courts, against whom there were many great complaints of abuses and exactions in his predecessor's time; nor did he find that popery and profaneness had increased in that kingdom by any more than the neglect of due catechising and preaching, for want of which instruction, the poor people that were outwardly protestants were ignorant of the principles of religion, and the papists continued still in a blind obedience to their leaders. Therefore he set himself with all his power to redress these neglects, as well by his own example, as by his ecclesiastical discipline; all which proving at last too weak for so inveterate a disease, he obtained his majesty's injunctions to strengthen his authority, as shall be hereafter mentioned."

In the next year, the English government, at war with France and Spain, was under strong apprehensions that efforts would be made, as on former occasions, to make Ireland the stage of contest, by the use of that influence which had ever been found effective for the purpose. To meet such a danger, means were adopted of a most questionable character, and resisted on the part of Usher and the Irish church, by a protest no less questionable. To make the papists ready to contribute to the maintenance of the additional forces which were thought requisite for security against the apprehended danger, it was proposed to grant several privileges which would amount to a toleration of their church. But whatever may be said for a liberal toleration on just grounds, it must be admitted, that the grounds assumed were neither just nor politic. If the papists were entitled to the questioned privileges, they should have them without compromise; if not, no political expediency could justify a compromise, such as was designed. We are clearly of opinion, that considering the peculiar political machinery of the papal power in that age, with its power and the real intent of all its workings, the toleration desired was inconsistent with sound policy: but we are as decided in opposition to any constraint or disability of a political nature, on the score of spiritual demerits. For this reason we cannot concur in approving the following protest, entitled, "The judgment of divers of the archbishops and bishops of Ireland, concerning Toleration of Religion.

"The religion of the papists is superstitious and idolatrous; their faith and doctrine erroneous and heretical; their church in respect of both apostatical. To give them therefore a toleration, or to consent that they may freely exercise their religion, and profess their faith and doctrine, is a grievous sin, and that in two respects.

"For, 1st, It is to make ourselves accessory, not only to their superstitions, idolatries, and heresies, and in a word to all the abominations of popery; but also, which is a consequent of the former, to the perdition of the seduced people, which perish in the deluge of the catholic apostacy.

"2d, To grant them toleration in respect of any money to be given or contribution to be made by them, is to set religion to sale, and with it the souls of the people, whom Christ our Saviour hath redeemed with his most precious blood. And as it is a great sin, so also a matter of most dangerous consequence. The consideration whereof we commend to the wise and judicious. Beseeching the God of truth to make them who are in authority, zealous of God's glory, and of the advancement of true religion; zealous, resolute, and courageous against all popery, superstition, and idolatry. Amen.

J. ARMACHANUS.

MAL. CASCHELLEN.

ANTH. MEDENSIS.

THO. HERNES & LAGHLIN.

RO. DUNENSIS, &c.

GEORGE DERENS.

RICHARD, CORKE, CLOYNE, ROSSES.

ANDR. ALACHADENS.

THO. KILMORE & ARDAGH.

THO. DROMORE.

MICHAEL WATERFORD & LYSMORE.

FRAN. LYMERICK."

To contest the conclusion of the bishops, we do not think it necessary to deny their premises. The word Mahometan may be put for Papist, and our comment would have the same force. If it can be shown that persecution or oppression or any species of legal disability has ever been the means of suppressing heresy, the case will be found to stand on its own peculiar grounds; the exception and not the rule. A merely prudential confession of faith, may, we grant, be silenced by motives such as legal intervention may supply: but conscience, however misinformed, will resist the terrors of persecution, or the impediments of legal coercion. The divine principle in man's nature, obscured and turned from its first great object and the design of its endowment, will yet retain its natural law of operation, and whether under the crushing wheel of the Indian idol or the proscription of law, give forth its hidden energy of heroic endurance and sustaining fortitude. We cannot acquiesce in the grounds of this episcopal protest. And we are the more earnest in the expression of our conviction, because we think it contains an error, too long maintained, and highly pernicious in its operation and effects. It has been a fatal error to place the question respecting the penal laws on false grounds. It has had the ill effect of imposing on both parties a fallacious view which has not only introduced a false principle of opinion and feeling, but prevented the diffusion and working of right views. It would have made an essential difference in the feelings of the lay community, had they been aware of the fact, that the penal laws were grounded on a *political* necessity, arising out of the first principles of social existence. Neither would the exasperation of pride and sectarian animosity have been roused to the support of the papal policy on one side; nor on the other, would a strong sense of justice have been excited among the large party of protestants, who, being insensible to any theological motive, would have seen the real question on its true grounds, in a different spirit. There can be no doubt on any informed mind of whatever communion, that in any system of social polity, an acquiescence in the fundamental laws of the system must be the first condition of right and privileges. The ecclesiastical system of the papal see, such as it both was, and *overtly professed to be*, was illegal, not

merely because it was opposed by enactments, but because it was in its very nature irreconcilable with any system, the constitution of which implied its independence of the papacy.*

Having thought it right to express our opinion so far, we consider it necessary to add, that we do not mean to censure the act of Usher and his brethren. It was according to the sense and spirit of the time in which they lived. The ground they took was, that rites and ceremonies which they held to be idolatrous, and which were contrary to law, should not be permitted for money. And in this they were strictly right. It is also to be here noted, that however the question of toleration may be decided, there is an error opposite to that we have here noted. The principle of toleration taken up by its political advocates is manifestly wrong; for it is essentially grounded on an infidel assumption. It is not toleration but latitude, and takes for granted, that the supremacy of the divine will specially declared, is to be made secondary to human policy. This old mistake, growing as it does out of human nature, is ever to be combated, as it ever exists; pervading the political theory of the present day, as much as when lord Falkland would have set to sale the supposed duties of the government to the church. The distinction is this: the laws of spiritual obligation are not designed *to be enforced* by human laws: their very scope and intent reject a tyrannical and inquisitorial control, which cannot be effective for any spiritual end, and is contrary to the spirit of God's word, and inconsistent with the welfare of man. But the recognition of the declared will and institutions, founded on the authentical revelation of God, is the first obligation of the state, because it is the first obligation of every individual. The consequence cannot be evaded: God is not to be adored in the closet, and denied in the senate. Nor can any one who thinks it a sacred obligation to go to church on the sabbath-day, consistently think himself at liberty to vote on Monday, that the interests of the church are to be trifled with on the ground of any temporal expediency. God is as absolute in the privy council as in the cathedral; and if he holds in his grasp the fortune of nations—the wisdom which would exclude his sovereignty from its councils, is, it is to be feared, of that short-sighted kind that is described as “foolishness with God.”

And such, when reduced to its real elements, was the opinion enforced by Usher and his brethren. Rightly stated, it would be—“We protest against setting to sale certain rights, which we are in conscience bound to withhold.”

Such too, was the general impression created by this protest. The Irish government found itself forced to recall the offer, and lord Falkland applied to Usher to endeavour to persuade the protestant community to remedy the deficiency of means by a liberal contribution. Usher for this end addressed an assembly summoned for the purpose. The effect was not, however, considerable, though of the speech which

* We take this occasion to observe, that it is for this reason that we use the term *Papist*, not as a term of reproach, but as expressive of the true ground on which we have throughout laboured, to place and preserve the great fundamental question of our history.

he delivered on that occasion, it has been admitted, that it merited the success which it could not command.

Among the good deeds of the primate may be reckoned the discovery and promotion of a man like Bedell, whom he brought over, with much persuasion, this year, from his living in Suffolk, to place him at the head of the university. Such a promotion was then, in the infancy of the institution, not so inappropriate as it may now appear to many of our readers. The university of Dublin had not, as yet, brought forth its harvest of learned men, nor matured into that amplitude of human knowledge which now places it so high in the scale of institutions;* and the acquisition, from any source, of a mind like that of Bedell, must have been viewed as a desirable object.

Usher's promotion enabled him now to prosecute his favourite pursuit of ancient literature; for which purpose he employed a British merchant, resident at Aleppo, to procure for him oriental writings, and by this means he obtained several rare and curious additions to his library. Some of the manuscripts thus imported were of the highest importance to biblical literature. Among these was a copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch, the first which had been brought into Europe, and a perfect copy of the Old Testament in the Syriac. Nor was Usher remiss in the liberal application of these treasures, which were open to the use of those who were engaged in sacred literature. They were placed at the disposal of bishop Walton, when he was engaged in the compilation of his Polyglott, and are now (many of them) in the Bodleian library.

The archbishop paid another visit to England soon after Bedell's appointment. He is said about this time to have manifested considerable anxiety about the course of political occurrences in both kingdoms, and to have watched the indications of public feeling with more than his wonted anxiety. We have already dwelt at some length on the peculiar foresight which he had obtained of the political events which were still slowly but surely labouring into birth. The civil wars in England, and their result, were far too extreme and unusual in their

* The system of instruction which has been adopted by our university is a subject liable to some favourite mistakes, which appear to have met with a tacit assent, because they have not appeared with authority sufficient to challenge refutation; having, indeed, been mainly confined to common conversation. We shall hereafter have an occasion, of which we shall freely take advantage, to discuss the subject with the fulness it merits; but here we may observe, that there is, in the greater universities, a tendency to fall into some one-sided method of study, by no means adequate to the intellectual wants of society. A bias to a course may suit a profession; but the university of Dublin has taken a central position, from which every course may be most conveniently followed, and a broad universal basis, which comprehends so much of the elements of all knowledge as is consistent with an academical foundation. Any one whose time has been rightly employed in our university, has studied and mastered an extensive course of the most select reading, in classics, in science, in logic and metaphysics, and in theology. If more should be demanded, it is to be observed, that every person of competent understanding, who leaves the university thus prepared, is in no want of academical training for any special pursuit. Professional education is only to be finished on the path of professional discipline, and in the school of practice. The student who has not learned the art of study—the real art of academic discipline—is not likely to be much advanced by any modification of school-training.

character, to fall within the scope of human foresight, although now traceable with rigid exactness to the train of casual incidents of which they were the event. But in Ireland it was otherwise: no more than ordinary sagacity was necessary to obtain a reasonably precise notion of the results of a state of feelings, and of an underhand, yet hardly concealed agency, which was in active operation. Such feelings can always, it is true, be diverted into safer channels, and such agencies can be suppressed; but one of the conspiring causes of political convulsion is the blindness, resembling infatuation, by which the councils of kings and governments seem paralyzed and misled in such times. Of Usher's feelings, his letters, seldom political, give imperfect evidence. On the dissolution of parliament, in June, 1626, he writes to Dr Ward,—“The dissolution of parliament hath amazed us, all men's hearts failing them for fear, and for looking on those things which are coming on the land. The Lord prepare us for the day of visitation, and then let his blessed will be done.”

The influx of foreign ecclesiastics was at this time increasing, and though yet not made publicly known by any express indication, the rising which in a few years after was to take place, was distinctly contemplated by the Irish at home, and its preparations kept at least in view, in Spain and Italy, but more especially in the former. To whatever construction it may have been liable, the conduct of the Romish clergy was not considered as matter of doubt by Usher, or generally unnoticed by the more intelligent observers. In consequence of the representations of the primate, and those of the Irish bishops who joined with him in the protest already mentioned, a proclamation was sent over, in which the actual state of the circumstances is expressed very precisely.* A letter from lord Falkland to the primate states the circumstances attendant on this proclamation:—“A drunken soldier being first set up to read it, and then a drunken sergeant of the town, both being made, by too much drink, incapable of that task, (and perhaps purposely put to it,) made the same seem like a May-game.” So confident were the friars and their partisans in the remissness of the government, that such verbal denunciations were only met with open expressions of contempt. They exercised their jurisdiction with unabated force, and “not only proceeded in building abbeys and monasteries, but had the confidence to erect a university in Dublin, in the face of the government, which, it seems, thought itself limited in this matter by instructions from England.” At the same time, this daring resistance to the law on the part of the papal church was not less prominent, than the union of inefficiency and neglect in the protestant establishment. The miserable dilapidation and disorderly abuse of the churches is almost beyond belief, yet amply proved and illustrated by the known condition of the cathedrals and principal churches in the metropolis. The utmost laxity prevailed in the disposal of the benefices, and in the ordination of the clergy. Of these we cannot here afford sufficient space for the particulars,† some of which may recur in some of the succeeding memoirs.

Among other incidents of the same period, connected with the

* Cox. Mant.

† See Mant's Hist. pp. 448—464.

archbishop, was the final decision of the old dispute for precedence between the sees of Dublin and Armagh. The settlement of this question, which had been at various times agitated, was now considered an essential preliminary to the meeting of convocation. Archbishop Bulkeley had revived this ancient controversy in 1623, with Hampton, mainly resting his cause "on the ground that a protestant king and council would confirm the patent granted by a protestant king to his predecessor, Browne, and abolish that of a popish queen to primate Dowdall."* Hampton's death interrupted the dispute; but it was revived after two years, on the occasion here mentioned, by Bulkeley: and the king directed letters, empowering lord Falkland and the council to hear both parties, and finally decide between them, in order that the scandal arising from such a contest might be avoided. Such a scandal, we ought to observe by the way, could only arise from the ignorance of some of the lookers-on, and the prejudices of others, who might attribute to the pride of the individuals a rightful assertion of the privileges appurtenant to an office, and not to be abandoned without a cowardly and compromising neglect of duty. The bishop is the legal guardian, in whose person is perpetuated the corporate existence of the see; and any surrender, unless legally authorized, is a breach of trust.

Thus revived, the matter lay in suspense until 1634, when Strafford, who was not likely to suffer any question relative to the Irish church to rest, took it up before the meeting of parliament, and summoned Bulkeley and Usher before the council. There he investigated their claims for two days, with the most searching and rigorous minuteness, and a close inspection of every document or allegation. His decision, which terminated for ever this important question, was the following:—"That it appeared, from divers evidences, that from all antiquity the see of Armagh had been acknowledged the prime see of the whole kingdom, and the archbishop thereof reputed, not a provincial primate, like the other three metropolitans, but a national; that is, the sole primate of Ireland, properly so called. That in the reign of queen Elizabeth, the archbishop of Dublin did constantly subscribe after the archbishop of Armagh. That in the statute for free schools, in the 12th of Elizabeth, the archbishop of Armagh is nominated before the archbishop of Dublin, as he is in that of the 27th of Elizabeth, where all the archbishops and bishops were ranked in their order, as appeared by the parliament rolls. For which reasons he decreed, that the archbishop of Armagh, and his successors for ever, should have precedence, and be ranked before the archbishop of Dublin and his successors, as well in parliament and convocation house, as in all other meetings; and in all commissions where they should be mentioned; and in all places, as well within the diocese or province of Dublin, as elsewhere; until upon better proof on the part of the archbishop of Dublin, it should be adjudged otherwise."

Nearly forty years later, a similar controversy arose between the titular archbishops of the same sees, and being referred to Rome, was considered in a full meeting of the cardinals, and decided in favour of Armagh, as "the chief see and *metropolis* of the whole island."

* Vol. ii. pp. 240.

Another event in the ecclesiastical history of Ireland the same year was, the canon for the adoption of the thirty-nine articles. As the circumstances attending this measure are important enough to demand a full and methodical relation, we reserve the whole for the memoir of Bramhal, who sustained a distinguished and principal part in the arrangement. It will be enough to give a brief notice here of the general nature of proceedings, in which the primate had much and anxious concern, and being the author of the previous articles of 1615, must be felt to have been delicately placed. Generally, then, the matter was thus,—there was felt in England a wish, still more anxiously entertained by the king and the earl of Strafford, to see the English and Irish churches placed on a footing of perfect unity, in spirit and discipline. Against this there was a strong feeling among the Irish clergy, in which the primate is with reason believed to have shared. The vigour of Strafford, aided by the bishop of Derry, however, bore down all opposition, so far as to secure the adoption of the thirty-nine articles, but without the express repeal of the old articles, which Usher had about twenty-four years before drawn up, on the foundation of the articles of Lambeth. The reluctance of the clergy is accounted for by their known Calvinistic leaning. The primate, however—though such at an earlier period had been the complexion of his theological opinions, and though some of his notions of ecclesiastical government, must be admitted to be rather of the liberal order—was yet, in point of doctrinal views, certainly, at a period long anterior to that in question, altogether anti-Calvinistic. This is rendered clear beyond controversy, by the unexceptionable evidence of his letters, of which one extract may not be superfluous, as very explicit on the fundamental criterion of the doctrine of justification. On this subject, among other remarks of parallel force, he states, “All men may be truly said to have interest in the merits of Christ, though all do not enjoy the benefit thereof, because they have no will to take it.” “Many,” he writes, “who do believe the truth thereof, [the gospel,] are so wedded to their sins, that they have no desire to be divorced from them, and *therefore* they refuse the gracious offer that is made unto them,” &c. This is explicit enough, and was written two years after his articles. To this might be added, a long string of testimonies from others who could not fail to know his opinions. His reluctance arose from no doctrinal difference, but partly from his earnest desire to preserve the strict independence of the Irish church, a wish distinctly stated in the discussion as to the reception of the English canons; but perhaps still more from a consideration, to which much regard was due, arising from his knowledge of the Calvinistic constituency of the Irish church, as it then stood, a view strongly confirmed by the notorious anxiety of the Irish clergy to resist the meditated change.

In this period occurred a controversy with his friend Bedell, of which we are compelled to take some notice, by the uncandid tone in which the subject has been related by Burnet. On this it is necessary to make a few remarks, as Burnet, who seems to have taken the defence of Bedell as a vehicle for his own, has been thus led to misrepresent the conduct of his great contemporary. In extracting the passage, we include the high and just commendations of the primate, with which his censure

is qualified. After strongly noticing the abuses introduced by the canonists, Burnet goes on to say, "He [Bedell] laid those things often before archbishop *Usher*, and pressed him earnestly to set himself to the reforming them, since they were acted in his name, and by virtue of his authority deputed to his chancellor and to the other officers of the court, called the spiritual court. No man was more sensible of those abuses than *Usher* was; no man knew the beginning and progress of them better, nor was more touched with the ill effects of them; and together with his great and vast learning, no man had a better soul and a more apostolical mind. In his conversation he expressed the true simplicity of a Christian—for passion, pride, self-will, or the love of the world, seemed not to be so much as in his nature—so that he had all the innocence of the dove in him. He had a way of gaining people's hearts, and of touching their consciences, that looked like somewhat of the apostolical age revived; he spent much of his time in those two best exercises—secret prayer, and dealing with other people's consciences, either in his sermons or private discourses—and what remained he dedicated to his studies, in which those many volumes that came from him, showed a most amazing diligence and exactness, joined with great judgment, so that he was certainly one of the greatest and best men of that age, or perhaps the world has produced. But no man is entirely perfect; he was not made for the governing part of his function. He had too gentle a soul to manage that rough work of reforming abuses, and therefore he left things as he found them. He hoped a time of reformation would come. He saw the necessity of cutting off many abuses, and confessed that the tolerating those abominable corruptions that the canonists had brought in, was such a stain upon a church, that in all other respects was the best reformed in the world, that he apprehended it would bring a curse and ruin upon the whole constitution. But though he prayed for a more favourable conjuncture, and would have concurred in a joint reformation of these things very heartily, yet he did not bestir himself suitably to the obligations that lay on him for carrying it on, and it is very likely that this sat heavy on his thoughts when he came to die; for he prayed often, and with great humility, that God would forgive him his sins of omission, and his failings in his duty. It is not without great uneasiness to me, that I overcome myself so far as to say anything that may seem to diminish the character of so extraordinary a man, who in other things was beyond any man of his time; but in this only he fell beneath himself: and those that upon all other accounts loved and admired him, lamented this defect in him, which was the only alloy that seemed left, and without which he would have been held, perhaps, in more veneration than was fitting. His physician, Dr Bootius, that was a Dutchman, said truly of him, 'If our primate of Armagh were as exact a disciplinarian, as he is eminent in searching antiquity, defending the truth, and preaching the gospel, he might, without doubt, deserve to be made the chief churchman of Christendom.' But this was necessary to be told, since history is to be writ impartially; and I ought to be forgiven for taxing his memory a little, for I was never so tempted in anything I ever writ, to disguise the truth, as upon this occasion; yet though bishop *Usher* did not much himself, he had a singular esteem for that

vigour of mind which our bishop expressed in the reforming these matters. And now I come to the next instance of his pastoral care, which made more noise, and met with more opposition than any of the former."

The praise of Burnet may well be allowed at its full value, for it was disinterested; but as to any charge against Usher of a weak acquiescence in a state of things which he admitted to be wrong, it is to be set down to advocacy: it is notorious that Burnet's observations were designed to reflect on his own known conduct and opinions. But he was engaged upon an elaborate portrait; and it is perhaps the duty of a biographer, as of an artist, to preserve the features and characteristic expression of his subject in the most favourable point of view. We may here, in observance of the same duty, remind the reader of a principle now more fully understood than it was in the time of Bedell and Usher,—that there exists in no office a discretionary power of altering the existing form or operation of institutions, unless in absolute governments. A power so arbitrary, however exercised for good or evil, would be wholly inconsistent with any stage of the British government since it became a limited government. The abuses in the ecclesiastical courts were unquestionably great; but the discretion by which these abuses were perpetuated had long escaped from ecclesiastical control, and was actually vested by prescription, the basis of common law, in a lay jurisdiction. The bishop's power had become nominal, and he had no more right to interfere than the king has to take his seat on the king's bench, where he theoretically presides, and to reform the defects of the law. In those courts, the power of the bishop was subject to the interpretation of his chancellor. In the actual instance, zeal for justice, and a sense of natural equity, which widely differs from the equity of our courts, based as it is upon a complication of established and necessary conventions, misled the understanding of a man who was more zealous for right, than versed in constitutional distinctions. It is, therefore, highly to the praise of Usher, that, in those ignorant times, when constitutional principle was little understood even by lawyers, and not much regarded in Ireland, he had the candour to acknowledge his error, and the firmness to avouch and maintain the principle when he saw it; though, assuredly, it must, after all, be allowed, that the abstinent discretion which refused to disorganize the consistorial courts, would scarcely appear to demand much credit, were it not made the ground of censure. With Burnet, as well as his own biographers, we have no doubt in affirming, that Usher lamented the grievous abuses of the ecclesiastical courts, and looked forward with anxiety for that reform which the legislature alone had the power to effect; if it were not effected by a judicious reform in the selection of such officers as would conscientiously abstain from abuses to which the temptations were great. We must add, that it is not our opinion that the reform ought to have been effected by the means then contemplated by the Irish bishops. It is not that we entertain the smallest doubt of the efficacy of such an arrangement: it would have improved the administration of the laws, but it was a jurisdiction quite alien from the real character and more essential offices of the episcopal character; and if it was so then, the discrepancy has

been widely increased. But this would lead us into a useless disquisition: we shall give a little more detailed account of this affair in our memoir of Bedel.

In the year 1639, the primate published his celebrated treatise on the antiquities of the British churches, in which he introduces an account of the "pestilent heresy against the grace of God, introduced into the church by the Briton, Pelagius." The reader may, by chance, be aware that Pelagius has by some been given to Ireland, and though not considering that there is any satisfactory proof on the point, we have, with judicial impartiality, allowed him the benefit of the doubt, in a memoir mainly drawn from Usher's account. This work was composed in Latin, printed in Dublin, "*Ex officina Typographica Societatis Bibliopolarum*," &c., and dedicated to king Charles. It treats on many points on which no certainty can be attained; but when its matter is doubtful, the obscurity is qualified by a modesty and sobriety of statement, which seldom, if ever, fails to reduce it to its real value. Throughout there is a clearness, justness of thought, and sagacity of perception, exercised on a wide range of curious and far-sought material, so as to inspire a confidence that the primate's investigations approach as near to truth as their nature and materials admit of. His work has accordingly been the basis of succeeding labours, on which we shall here decline any comment. Those writers who are to be regarded as his adversaries have seen ample reason to treat him with deference. Having had to consult some of these writers for the purpose of this history, we have been led to observe, that while with much speciousness, and not without some array of authorities, they have questioned some of his statements respecting the early history of the Irish church, they almost uniformly present a marked deficiency in those qualifications of scope and sagacity by which he was so admirably fitted for such inquiries. There is a working of uniform principles, and there is a broad analogy in the course of human occurrences, which offer the safest guidance in the dim distances of antiquity; but to catch these lights upon the wide and glimmering obscurity of time, needs an eye endowed with length of vision and capaciousness of light. Such was the sagacity of Usher: his critics have often been too negligent of the fact that they have been but wandering astray in a labyrinth of small seemings, on which there can be no certainty, while facts of far wider scope are prominently emerging above the mists and fogs of old traditions, such as to remove the very ground from their inferences, and indeed reduce the questions they discuss to very slight importance. There is one general fact of great importance, with relation to the numerous questions which present themselves in the perusal of those ecclesiastical writers who have gone over Usher's ground. His statements, and the inferences at which he arrives, whether in the special instance rigidly correct or not, are yet uniformly maintained by that antecedent probability which arises out of the nature of things, and the general history of the times. To this general rule we would especially refer all the questions which arise on the primitive christianity and first bishops of the Irish church.

We must now enter upon a different aspect of the primate's fortunes. Hitherto we have seen him advancing in a uniform course of

prosperity, and holding the position of dignity and public respect due to his learning, genius, and worth. We may now complete our notice of his history, so far as it belongs to Ireland, by the few scanty gleanings which we have been able to find of personal interest, relative to his residence and domestic habits in the see of Armagh. From his chaplain, Dr Bernard, we learn, that "the order observed in his family as to prayer, was four times a-day; in the morning at six, in the evening at eight, and before dinner and supper in the chapel, at each of which he was always present. On Friday, in the afternoon, constantly, an hour in the chapel was spent in going through the principles of religion in the catechism, for the instruction of the family; and every Sunday, in the evening, we had a repetition of his sermon in the chapel, which he had preached in the church in the forenoon. In the winter evenings, he constantly spent two hours in company of old manuscripts of the Bible, Greek and Latin, when about five or six of us assisted him, and the various readings of each were taken down by himself with his own hand." To this we may add, that he was "given to hospitality," and that his guests, both friends and strangers, were uniformly impressed with his frank and courteous demeanour, and the frank and ready communication of his overflowing knowledge. His table was such as became his means and dignity, but still marked by the plainness and simplicity of his character, and the sobriety becoming his office.

When in town, he was in the habit of preaching in St Owen's church every Sunday.

Though as a public man and a writer he may be considered as the great antagonist of the church of Rome, his private conduct to its adherents was uniformly characterized by his benignity of temper and his truly christian spirit. His opposition was untainted by a spot of party or sectarian feeling: his sole desire was the salvation of souls and the truth of the gospel. He left no honourable means untried to conciliate and convince them; by private kindness he won many to receive his instruction: and notwithstanding his known character as an opponent, he was loved and respected by those who were within the circle of his personal influence. The primate knew the distinction, so apt to be lost sight of, between charity to persons and compromise with public bodies.

In the beginning of the year 1640, he was called to England, and never returned to his native country. A long succession of stormy changes, which had for many years been preparing in both kingdoms, at last broke forth in a prolonged and awful confusion of the order of things. The events preceding the rebellion of 1641 have already been fully detailed: we must now follow the primate into England.

The events connected with the entire of this stormy period are among the most generally known portions of English history; and as our immediate subject cannot be considered as much involved in those events, we shall, through the remainder of this memoir, endeavour to confine our narration to the few incidents of his personal history.

On his arrival in England, the primate first travelled with his family to London, from which, after a few days' delay, he went to Oxford. Everywhere he found political and religious animosities

possessing men's minds, and having hoped for peace at the university in vain, he soon returned to London, in the resolution to discharge his own duty, by endeavouring to bring back the people to some sense of their duties, by the bold and free exercise of his tongue and pen.

The impeachment of the earl of Strafford followed soon. In Ireland, the earl had looked on Usher with a jealous eye, as one not well-affected to his policy. But he had judged with his wonted wisdom of the primate, and now showed his reliance upon his ability and judgment, by consulting him confidentially on the line and topics of defence which he was preparing. The primate was also consulted on the same occasion by king Charles, and urgently pressed his majesty to refuse his consent to the bill of attainder. On this occasion it is mentioned, that when the king sent for the primate, it was Sunday, and he was found preaching in Covent-Garden church. He came down from the pulpit to learn the emergency which could authorize so untimely a call, and when he received the royal message, he replied, "He was then employed upon God's business, which as soon as he had done, he would attend upon his majesty." Having strongly urged the king to refuse his consent, he, after it was weakly given, remonstrated with tears, "O Sire, what have you done? I fear that this act may prove a great trouble upon your conscience; and pray God that your majesty may never suffer for signing this bill."

When Strafford was doomed by an unjust sentence, he selected the primate as his spiritual counsellor, and considering all things, it is impossible to find a higher testimony to exalted worth and spiritual efficiency. The primate was assiduous in his attendance, and passed the last evening in fortifying the illustrious sufferer in faith and courage. Next morning he attended him to that portentous block, and kneeled in prayer with him on that scaffold which was to be moistened with the first drops of so much English blood. He then received the earl's courageous and affecting last words, and having witnessed his death, carried the account to Charles.

In this year Usher was occupied with bishop Hall in the celebrated controversy on Church Government, in which the opposition was sustained by Milton, then in his 31st year, together with five puritan divines, Stephen Marshal, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen, and William Spurstow; the finals and initials, of which names were combined into the word *Smectymnus*, in the title of the joint answer which they wrote to Hall's "humble remonstrance." The "answer by *Smectymnus*" was replied to by Usher, whose reply called out Milton's treatise "of Prelatical Episcopacy." This controversy was carried on in a succession of defences, confutations, and animadversions, which excited a keen and lively interest in a period of which they discussed some of the great actuating principles. The reader is fully informed on the political interest of this great controversy: there is not here any sufficient motive for entering upon the long narrations and various disquisitions into which it would lead us. But it was then the main ground on which was brought together soon after into a resistless combination, all the popular elements of wrath and ruin, which overwhelmed for a season the constitution and church of England. One of Milton's

biographers has given his voice in favour of Hall's wit, and Usher's argument, against the copious eloquence and angry abuse of Milton and his colleagues. "If the church," writes Dr Symmons, "indeed, at this time, could have been upheld by the abilities of its sons, it would have been supported by these admirable prelates; but numbers, exasperation, and enthusiasm, were against them:" he also remarks, "the tone of this debate was far from mild, and all the combatants, with the exception of Usher, seem to have been careless of manners, and not less intent on giving pain to their adversaries, than on the discovery or the establishment of truth."

Towards the close of the year, the Irish rebellion broke out, and the primate received accounts of the destruction of his property. He was in a measure prepared for calamities, which had for many years been present to his anticipations. A mind like his could not but be heavily afflicted for the ruin of his country, the crimes and perfidy of the people, the suffering of his friends, and most of all, the danger of the church which he had so long been labouring to build up. Yet there mingled with these regrets and sorrows, a sense of gratitude to the hand that had so seasonably removed him from scenes of horror and violence, which were so unsuited to his age and habits.

His library escaped by the firmness of Drogheda, which as the reader is aware, held out against the miscreant O'Neile, until relieved. But except this and whatever furniture he possessed in his house in that city, all his moveable property suffered destruction. The outrages which were perpetrated against the good Bedel, his dear friend whom he had himself brought into Ireland, was a heavy blow to his tenderest feelings: it showed him all that he had escaped more strongly than the report of a thousand atrocities; for Bedel was loved by the very people who were deluded by their infamous and brutal advisers into the commission of outrages against him, difficult to conceive true. Nor is there, amid all the heartless villainies of every description which are crowded together in the record of that time, a record so hapless for Ireland in its after effects, or so dishonouring to its perpetrators, as the mixture of cowardly violence and insult which brought that honoured head in sorrow to the grave. But of this hereafter.

Under these trials, the primate, whose life had been one season of prosperity and honour, now bore up with the meek and tempered dignity which became a christian prelate of the church. As his learning and literary labours had obtained for him a reputation as wide as the civilized world, his misfortunes soon attracted universal sympathy. He was invited by the university of Leyden, to fill one of its professorships, with an augmentation of the salary, in case of his acceding to the offer. Cardinal Richlieu, sent him an invitation to France, with the offer of a pension and the free exercise of his religion. These offers were honourable to those who made them; but it was perhaps a higher honour to have declined them under the circumstances. Usher might have availed himself of a refuge, which being a testimony to distinguished worth, would have conferred high distinction; but he preferred his duty and his religion. In that age too, when loyalty was exalted by a prejudice into a virtue of a nobler order than can

now be well understood, and when it involved no lowering imputation to regard the person of the king, rather than the constitution of the monarchy, it may be no injustice to Usher, to say, that his attachment to the king, and his reverence for the royal cause, weighed much in influencing his conduct. It is, indeed, quite apparent through the entire of his conduct, that his own comfort and safety were but a secondary consideration in his breast.

It was, nevertheless, apparent enough, that some means of support were necessary to one, whose want, a disgrace to England, had been supplied already by the sale of such effects as he had brought with him, or which had been saved from the wreck of his affairs. The king offered him the bishopric of Carlisle, which he gladly accepted: it conferred at least a sphere of usefulness, and the exercise of his sacred functions; though inadequate as to its temporalities, as the *armies of the north* were quartered upon it.

During the course of the calamitous struggles which succeeded, the conduct and character of the divine or the scholar were of little weight. The efforts of that felon parliament which overthrew the monarchy were with equal success directed against the church of England; but this is not the place to enter into details which have but an incidental connexion with our subject. In the course of events, the bishopric of Carlisle suffered the same seizure and sequestration as every other church possession: the lands were seized, and the palace dilapidated by parliamentary agents commissioned for the purpose. The parliament voted a compensation of £400 a year for the support of Usher; but only consistent in crime and madness, they forgot to carry this ostentatious liberality into effect.

Wearied with the increasing tumult of fear and party strife, which, daily increasing, left no scene unimbittered in London, the primate retired to Oxford in 1642. Here, in a house with which he was accommodated by the kindness of Prideaux, he enjoyed a grateful interval of calm. This habitation was close to the Bodleian library, and he was thus enabled to take up the thread of studies which affliction had broken, and to prepare several valuable papers for the press. During this residence he had also the unspeakable satisfaction of finding a useful field for his ministerial gifts. He preached every Sunday at some one of the churches, and his preaching was blessed with great and unequivocal proofs of good effect. He not only was thus the means of awakening many to a spiritual sense, but, in a great measure, of correcting by his example the vicious style of pulpit oratory, then becoming fashionable in England. His fervent and unaffected manner, the strong simplicity of his natural eloquence, supported by the fulness of his knowledge, and the apostolical sincerity of his faith and charity, had both the effect of winning souls, and by a striking contrast exposing the fustian exuberance of sparkling affectation and tinsel metaphor, which till then passed for eloquence. Of this Dr Parr relates the following instance:—"I remember that there was a person in the university, very much famed for that (florid) kind of preaching, who, after he had sometimes heard the lord primate's sermons, and observing how plain and yet moving they were, and being sufficiently satisfied that it was not for want of wit or learning

that he did not do otherwise, was soon convinced that his own was not the most ready way of gaining souls; and therefore quitting his affected style, and studied periods, took up a more plain and profitable way of preaching; so that coming afterwards to visit the lord primate, he gave him many thanks, and told him that he had now learned of him how to preach, and that since he had followed his example, he had found more satisfaction in his own conscience, and comfort in his ministry, than ever he had before."

"And I remember one sermon above the rest, which he preached in Exeter college chapel, about that time, upon the text, Prov. xviii. 1. 'Through desire a man having separated himself, seeketh and intermeddleth with all wisdom;' in which sermon he so lively and pathetically set forth the excellency of true wisdom, as well human as divine, and that desire which every ingenuous and virtuous soul ought to have for it, that it wrought so effectually upon the hearts of many of the younger students, that it rendered them more serious, and made them ply their studies much harder than before."

In the summer of 1643, the parliament, pursuing the course which it had entered upon for the destruction of the monarchy, consistently proceeded to revise and new-model the church. To give a semblance of legislative deliberation to this proceeding, they called together a formal convention of divines, of all sects, parties, and denominations, "an assembly of a very strange mixture, consisting of a certain number of the lords and commons, with a greater proportion of divines, some of which were prelatial, some independent, and the greater part presbyterians," &c. The ostensible purpose of this assembly was to consult with, and advise the parliament, on the bills to be passed for "settling church government." Among the prelates summoned to this assembly, the primate was one; but he no sooner ascertained the purpose and unlawful constitution of the assembly, than he declined attending; and his name was, by a formal vote, erased from their list. This incident, it may be well conceived, was not much adapted to conciliate good-will for the primate soon after, when the rebel parliament had succeeded in their usurpation, and became the ruling authority of the land.

It was in the same summer that the primate administered the holy communion to the king at Oxford, when, immediately before receiving, his majesty made a public and solemn declaration of his intention to support the "establishment of the true reformed protestant religion," &c.

He also preached during this period, with great eloquence and effect, against the proceedings of the parliament; and at last they became so incensed, that an order for the seizure of his books, which had been deposited in Chelsea, was made and executed. This act of petty malignity was defeated by Dr Featly, who had at the moment some influence, and secured the books for the primate by purchasing them as for himself. This worthy divine was soon after discovered to be a correspondent of Usher's, and expelled from their assembly for "adhering to the enemy." His livings were sequestrated, his property seized, and he himself imprisoned and treated with a severity which soon put an end to his life.

It will readily be conceived, at a time and in a country where the great controversy of church government had come to hold a place as important as that which the church of Rome had held in his own country during his previous life, that the primate was not likely now to be an idle spectator of the contest. To some of his labours in this cause we have adverted. His residence at Oxford was now employed in a work for the maintenance of episcopacy, and his studies were assisted by Dr Hammond. He produced a treatise, in which he showed that the bishop of Ephesus exercised a jurisdiction similar to that of an archbishop in the English church.

It is among those circumstances, which in the highest degree should be remembered to the honour of the primate, that while in just and forcible terms he reprehended the foul crimes which were then in their progress, he no less firmly exposed the scandalous amusements of the court party. He delicately, but forcibly, impressed the truth that while the crimes of their enemies appeared to them in all their true enormity, they forgot to look to their own sins, and overlooked the awful fact, that evil instruments were sometimes used to execute the judgments of God. And, indeed, the hypocrisy of those plundering and murderous fanatics might well be balanced in wickedness, by the profane and licentious cavalier, whose conduct, though less revolting to the feelings of humanity, or the laws of society, were at least as far from grace. Among the fanatics, it would be unjust to affirm that numbers were not sincere, humble, and pious Christians: crowds were the slaves of a misdirected enthusiasm, and followed their leaders in the simplicity of their faith: but the unhappy conjunction of religion with rebellion of the blackest dye, had the most demoralizing influence for many years, not only on their opponents, but on the moral and spiritual state of England. A confusion of principles, to which the human mind is ever tending, seemed thus to derive an unfortunate sanction from the association, by which the most sacred and eternal truths were made to serve as the guise of all that is inconsistent with social order, and even in contradiction to the very first principles of christian truth. The language of divine truth, dictated to the holiest of mortals by the Spirit of God, thus divorced from its intent, and used to decorate the most unholy ends and tempers with the veil of spurious sanctity, obtained the name of cant and sanctimonious hypocrisy; and those who were glad to escape the pure jurisdiction of gospel truth, were but too happy to find it guilty of all the vice, and folly, and baseness, that walked in its name. Hence by a spurious yet not singular circle of moral causes, which it would here be refining too far to trace out minutely, religion and moral virtue became opposed in the mass of social prejudices and conventions of which human opinion is made up. Those duties which flow from social affections and interests, and have only this transitory state for their end, became first opposed to religion; and then, by a natural compromise, substituted in its stead, to the exclusion of all that higher range of graces and duties which have a further and nobler end in the destination of man for a higher service and happier state. And this religion of society was soon adopted by the church, which, thus deprived of its indwelling spirit, thenceforth began, for several generations, to

dwindle into an institution. Such was the more permanent and serious revolution which lay involved in the inner shrine of the tempest then about to break upon England, and against which the primate, and men like him, were then lifting up their testimonies in vain.

In one of his sermons before the king, the primate dwelt strongly on the increasing vice and licentiousness of his friends; and observed, that "as no prayers or fastings in the world can sanctify a rebellion, nor tempt God to own an unjust party, so neither will a good cause alone justify us, any more than a true religion without practice." And after some further obvious exposition of this plain truth, he turned upon the wickedness of the time, and reprobated "the looseness and debauchedness of manners which he had observed in too many, who believed that being on the right side would atone for all other faults."

In the beginning of 1645, the siege of Oxford was expected; and as the primate was become an object of inveterate hate to the parliamentarians, it was generally thought advisable that he should betake himself to some more secure retreat. Accordingly he determined to take refuge in Cardiff Castle, which was then commanded by his son-in-law, Sir T. Tyrrel. He left Oxford with the prince of Wales, with whose escort he proceeded to Bristol, and from thence he safely reached his destination, where he was joyfully received by his daughter and son-in-law. Having taken care to bring a good collection of books with him, he was here enabled for a year to pursue his studious labours in happy and contented retirement, and composed a considerable part of his annals.

During this sojourn, his studies were for a time partially interrupted by a visit from the king, who, after he had left the unfortunate field of Naseby, fought on June 14, 1645, proceeded to Ragland castle, the princely seat of the marquess of Worcester, from which, after a few days of painful indecision, he retired to Cardiff. Here, in the sad conviction of ruin, expressed in his reply to the sanguine suggestions of the fiery Rupert, but still throwing his dependence on God and the justice of his cause,* Charles found, in the conversation of the primate, a consolation suited to such a frame of mind. It is likely, that like the devoted monarch, to whose breast he then endeavoured to supply the balm and strength which, when human counsels fail, are to be derived from trust in divine wisdom, Usher indulged in hopes founded on the same reliance; true in principle, but ever misapplied in the narrow scope of human foresight. The monarch and the prelate justly conceived that truth, justice, religion, and piety, must be the ultimate objects of providential care. They did not mark the vast evils bound up with the existing system of a monarchy grown too narrow for the ever-advancing progress and expansion of society, and could not conjecture that the end of that awful confusion was to be the means of breaking up old steel-bound conventions and deep-seated rights, which nothing short of the earthquake could dissolve. They looked on the rights and wrongs of the time as men, and with a view to the crimes or claims of individuals, and failed perhaps to reflect on the great truth, that the wisdom and equity of the Supreme Ruler are dispensed

* Clarendon.

upon a larger scale than the fortunes of individuals, for whose sins or sufferings there is another place of compensation. The violated laws and the persecuted church were to be restored, after they had been purged by fire. Those tyrannical courts, and despotic stretches of power over the freedom and conscience of the subject, which a pious king like Charles thought it his right or duty to enforce or maintain, were to be swept away only by the dissolution of the bonds of honour and principles of opinion, with which they were inextricably entwined.

The primate deeply felt the present condition of the king's prospects, and bitterly lamented the overthrow of the church; and when the king left the castle, he expressed his feelings strongly to Dr Parr. But he was shortly after himself compelled to abandon a retreat which had in many respects been so grateful to his feelings. The king's diminishing resources required the concentration of the wrecks of his army; and the outlying garrisons were many of them in consequence drawn away from their posts. Among such cases was Cardiff: the place was abandoned, and the primate was for some time perplexed whither to turn for refuge. Oxford was the desire of his heart; but between him and Oxford there lay a country possessed by the rebels. He had received several kind and flattering invitations from France and Holland, and was balancing them in his mind, when he received an invitation from the dowager, lady Stradling, to her castle of St Donat.

The invitation was seasonable; but it was known that the Welsh had risen in large bodies, estimated to be not less than ten thousand, and occupied the country through which the primate was to pass. Still, among the various defiles of the mountainous districts which lay around, it might be perhaps possible to find some unfrequented way, so as to pass without any interruption from the insurgents: such a path was suggested, and the inhabitants about Cardiff collected together to escort the primate on his way. Unhappily, they did not go far before they fell upon a straggling party, who, having surrounded and seized them, first perhaps with the intention of plunder, but finding the quality of their prisoners, they carried them to the place where the main body lay: there the primate and his party were dragged from their horses, and his baggage and effects were opened, scattered, and rifled of whatever appeared to these lawless insurgents to have any value. The most valuable remains of property, in his possession, consisted of those books which had hitherto been saved to him through every trouble: the chests which contained them were on this occasion broken open, and the books, with numerous manuscripts of inestimable value, scattered through the crowd. It is hard to say to what extremity this outrage might have been carried,—a crowd gathers exasperation from its own actions; and when the work of cupidity was done, the primate and the party who accompanied him, consisting of lady Tyrrel and other ladies, offered incentives enough for all the brutal passions of a mob. But happily, the arrival of several of the officers put a stop to further indignities. These were all gentlemen of the country, and were shocked and indignant at the scene of brutal outrage which presented itself. They instantly threw themselves among the people, enforced order, and compelled the instant restitution of all the property that could be recovered; and having remounted the

party on their horses, they escorted them with great courtesy and respect to the mansion of Sir John Aubrey. Here they met with the most hospitable reception. On retiring to his chamber, the primate naturally hastened to examine the state of his most valuable manuscripts, and was mortified and grieved to find that many were missing. These he mentioned as the heaviest and most distressing of all the heavy losses he had till then sustained. "I never," writes Parr, "saw him so troubled in my life; and those that were with him before myself, said that he seemed not more sensibly concerned for all his losses in Ireland than for this; saying to his daughter, and those that endeavoured to comfort him, 'I know that it is God's hand, and I must endeavour to bear it patiently, though I have too much human frailty not to be extremely concerned; for I am touched in a very tender place, and He has thought fit to take from me all that I have been gathering together above these twenty years, and which I intended to publish for the advantage of learning and the good of the church.' " It demands but a slight effort of reflection to enter into the feelings thus expressed; and, unless in some afflicting disaster, which strikes the deepest affections of our nature, it would not be easy to devise so trying a calamity. Pain and disease are trials which all are born to sustain, and for which the wise and good are prepared; the loss of fortune can be borne with equanimity by ordinary minds, and in proportion to the sufferer's virtue and wisdom, takes little away, and for a short time; but he who labours to achieve great and perpetual additions to the wisdom of his kind, and the improvement and extension of human knowledge, has learned to identify his labours with great and permanent ends. The years thus spent are not reckoned in his thoughts as merely so much time wasted on the fleeting purposes of common life: they are measured by the durability and importance of their fruits; and when, by some accident, these fruits are lost, the heart is struck with the vastness and irrevocable nature of that loss; for the trifler who wastes life in weaving the sands of human folly, and the philosopher who builds for all future time, have alike but a few measured moments of eternity for all that is to be done on earth, and he who would effect much, soon learns to look with tremulous anxiety on the swift and uncertain succession of his years. We are aware that beyond these feelings of the studious mind, there expands a wider and more profound system of truth: but it is beyond our present scope; we speak but of a sentiment—the error, perhaps the disease, of the philosopher. A loss like that under which Usher's christian spirit bent but for a moment, was the annihilation of a large portion of that for which he had lived: the pile which twenty years had raised for remote posterity was suddenly struck down, and all earthly losses seemed light in comparison.

But this heavy blow, at least, was averted, from the decline of his honourable age. The most respectable inhabitants of the country crowded the next day to pay their respects, and on hearing of these losses, they promised their most active co-operation for the purpose of recovering the primate's manuscripts. A large party was soon assembled, by whom he was conducted to his destination at the castle of St Donat. The gentry of the country, and especially the clergy, were

not remiss in the performance of their promise: the manuscripts, so valuable to their owner, had fallen into the hands of persons to whom they were of no value, and were thus easily recovered. Notices were publicly read and posted at the churches, that any who possessed them should deliver them up to the clergy or to their landlords; and thus, before two months, they were nearly all recovered, and restored to their owner.

Sir Edward Stradling was himself a studious and learned antiquarian, and had been industrious in the collection of rare books and curious manuscripts. Here therefore the primate was enabled to pursue his studies with advantage, and discovered some new and valuable materials. His studies were, however, after a time, interrupted by a violent and dangerous hæmorrhage, which continued for eighteen weeks, so that for a time his life was despaired of. But in the suffering and danger of this illness, it is mentioned by his chaplain that he was still patient, "praising God, and resigning himself up to his will, and giving all those about him, or that came to visit him, excellent heavenly advice, to a holy life and due preparation for death." While thus calmly awaiting the death which he imagined to be near, he was visited by a gentleman related to the family of St Donat, who was a member of the rebel parliament. He addressed him thus:—"Sir, you see I am very weak, and cannot expect to have many hours; you are returning to the parliament, I am going to God; I charge you to tell them from me, that I know they are in the wrong, and have dealt very injuriously with the king."

The parliament was destined to proceed in its career of madness and guilt to far more fearful lengths: but the primate happily recovered. It quickly became apparent that England was likely soon to contain no refuge for learning, loyalty, or sanctity. The arena of civil war was clearing on every side, and it was suggested to Usher to seek refuge in some of those foreign universities from which he had often received pressing invitations. A vessel was soon found; but when all was ready for embarkation, a squadron of rebel ships, commanded by a parliamentary leader, came in sight, and approached so near as to render any further proceeding impossible, without the permission of the commander. Accordingly, Parr was sent to this person, and received a rude and contumelious answer, refusing to let the primate pass, and threatening that if he should fall into this ruffian's hands, he would carry him prisoner to the parliament.

Thus baffled in his purpose, the primate was for some time longer detained at St Donat's, but in considerable doubt as to his future proceedings. At last he received a very warm invitation from lady Peterborough, expressive of her continued gratitude for the great service she had formerly received from him, when his controversy with the Jesuit had been the means of converting her late lord—for she was now a widow. He accepted the kind invitation, and left St Donat's, where he had continued for nearly a year. It is mentioned, that on this occasion large sums of money were privately sent to him by several of the gentry in that part of the country, to meet the expenses of his journey. Nor were these acts of private, unostentatious, and disinterested bounty, superfluous: the primate was, at the time, absolutely

destitute of all pecuniary resources. It is surely gratifying to read of deeds so honourable to human nature, and affording so admirable a testimony to the resplendent worth and sanctity of the character, which seems to have awakened and called forth such active and universal benevolence. Nor is the occasion less illustrative of the providential protection so often to be recognised amid the trials of good and holy men, whose care is ever cast on that power by which the righteous is never forsaken.

The primate set out with an anxious mind on his dangerous journey, and arrived without interruption in London, in the month of June, 1646, at the house of the countess of Peterborough. London was at this time completely in the power of the rebels, but with this main difference from the condition of remoter places, that here, whatever there was of learned or noble in the parliamentary party, exercised a restraining influence. The violence of rebellion is always, in some degree, sure to be tempered by those just and true principles which must be recognised to reconcile the better portion of a party to their own conduct, and as this rebellion was unusually strengthened by a mixture of such principles, it was largely tempered by the admixture of good and able men, who had been either carried away by political theory, or by their opposition to the abuses of the prerogative, and who still entertained the hope of first reforming, and then restoring, the disjointed powers of the constitution. In the metropolis, too, the frame of society still held together, though much and rudely shaken, and among the many institutions and corporate bodies, which were still indispensable to order, many persons were allowed to live in quiet at the price of a respectful silence. Here, therefore, the despotism of popular power was broken by forms and restraints, and a respect for opinion enforced more moderate and more humane proceedings towards those who took care to afford no specious handle for outrage. In such a place, the venerable years and high reputation of the primate were comparatively safe: yet such indignity as circumstances permitted was not withheld. The parliament had issued an order, that persons coming from any of the king's garrisons to town, should appear and give notice of their arrival to a committee, which sat for the purpose. To comply with this mandate, the primate sent his chaplain, Dr Parr, to acquaint the committee of his arrival and place of residence. The committee, however, refused to receive the intimation, and insisted on the personal appearance of the archbishop. On a summons he appeared in person, and underwent a strict and curious questioning as to his sojourn and occupation during his absence from London, and whether he had been using any influence with the king in favour of the papists. They then tendered an oath, which had been recently framed for suspected loyalists, but he demanded time to consider it, and withdrew. As he had several friends in the house, there was speedily an interposition of friendly influence, which protected him from further annoyance on this, or any other trouble from the same quarter. Immediately after, he removed with the countess to her residence at Reigate, in Surrey.

In the following year, leave was, with some difficulty, obtained for the primate to preach in London, and he was elected preacher to the honourable society of Lincoln's Inn, who appointed him a handsome

and commodious suite of apartments, to which he removed the remains of his library. He there attended and preached every Sunday, for the following six years, to the Benchers, among whom, at the time, was Mr Hale, afterwards one of the most illustrious ornaments of the king's bench in England. The primate's condition now became one of comparative ease: though deprived of the extrinsic advantages of wealth, station, and authority,—though an exile from his country, and deprived of the presence of the connexions and friends of his life,—yet he was still cherished by the reverent respect of all that remained of wisdom and goodness in these disjointed times; and even in the helplessness of poverty and old age, like a venerable ruin, he was hedged round by the respect even of the enemies of his church. A letter which he at this time wrote to the learned Vossius, gives an affecting sketch of the sufferings of the last few years. Adverting to the Irish insurrection, he writes:—"Thereby, in addition to the public losses, and the most barbarous and savage massacre of protestants that ever was perpetrated, I am myself despoiled of all those external possessions which we commonly denominate goods. My library alone was snatched from the flames; but even that is not yet in my possession; for I again met with tumults and excesses in England, which drove me from Oxford into Wales, where I suffered under a distressing disease for full eighteen weeks, and was at length saved, as it were, from the very jaws of the tomb, by the great mercy of God. I am unwilling to say anything about my reception on my return to London; nor would I have recalled to memory those other sad occurrences, were it not with a view to show you how I have been withheld from literary pursuits, and communication with men of letters."

In September, 1648, the presbyterian party, who constituted a majority in the house of commons, were desirous to secure their apparent preponderance, by a treaty, with the king, then confined in Carisbrook castle. Although there seems to have been little intention of discussing, on terms of equality, the questions of difference there to be proposed, they ordered that a certain number of the clergy of the episcopal church should be admitted, for the purpose of informing his conscience on ecclesiastical affairs; and of those who were summoned on the occasion, primate Usher was one. At this time the king had been a prisoner since the beginning of the previous year, and his friends were much shocked at the change which grief, bodily fatigue, and severe mental exertion, had made in his appearance. Within a year he had become quite gray; but his spirit, unbroken by trial, had collected vigour and firm endurance; and it is mentioned by Hume, and other historians, that on this occasion he astonished the commissioners by the surprising skill, readiness, extent of knowledge, and command of all the resources of reason, through a controversy in which he was for two months compelled to maintain his own side singly against all the commissioners. Yet on that occasion, there was perhaps a deeper anxiety to bring matters to a conclusion among his antagonists, and their position was more affected by a sense of present emergency. The king must have become aware of the unsubstantial value of any conclusion to which he might come with them: they were but a section of his enemies; one of the two great parties leagued

in rebellion against the crown, but deeply opposed to each other; and the struggle between them and their antagonists was at this time approaching a crisis so imminent, that it was a matter of deep interest to bring the conference to a speedy termination. The presbyterians had set this conference on foot, for the purpose of strengthening themselves against the independents. The former possessed the majority in parliament; the latter possessed the army; and it was while Cromwell, the great leader of the independents, was pushing forward, and endeavouring to conclude the war in the north, that the presbyterian party obtained the vote by which this conference was appointed. It is now easy to see how little more than a little additional bloodshed could have resulted from any concession on the king's part. Had he tamely resigned all for which he had so long held out, on the grounds of conscience, the time was past when those who really directed the storm would have closed with any terms short of their own secret views of personal ambition. When the work of such men is to be done by force, it is easy to find just reasons to satisfy the crowd; and, indeed, it should be observed, that the demands of the presbyterians, on the score of religion, were far from commensurate with the latitude claimed by the preaching and canting soldiers of Cromwell, who, having overthrown episcopacy, would have called out for the overthrow of presbytery with equal fury. The king went far in concession, but not enough to content his opponents; but Usher is mentioned to have proposed the concessions of the king, and suggested a compromise on a different basis. His main proposal was, to retain the bishops, and render them subservient to the counsel of the clergy; but this was insufficient. It was thought generally by the opposite party, that the king would have yielded to the apparent emergency of his situation, and given up all to the commissioners, but for the presence and counsel of Usher; and the primate thus, and by a sermon preached during the conference before the king, drew upon himself much censure and violent enmity.

Having taken leave of the king, Usher proceeded on his return to London. At Southampton, he received an application from the inhabitants to preach, but was not allowed by the parliamentary magistrates to comply. Not long after, he was accidentally among the spectators of the king's last earthly pains. The incident is told with much affecting and graphic truth, by Parr. "The lady Peterborough's house, where my lord then lived, being just over against Charing-cross, divers of the countess's gentlemen and servants got upon the leads of the house, from whence they could see plainly what was acting before Whitehall. As soon as his majesty came upon the scaffold, some of the household came and told my lord primate of it, and asked if he would see the king once more before he was put to death. My lord was at first unwilling; but was at last persuaded to go up, as well out of his desire to see his majesty once again, as also curiosity, since he could scarce believe what they told him unless he saw it. When he came upon the leads, the king was in his speech: the lord primate stood still, and said nothing, but sighed; and lifting up his hands and eyes (full of tears) towards heaven, seemed to pray earnestly; but when his majesty had done speaking, and pulled off his cloak and

doublet, and stood stripped in his waistcoat, and that the villains in vizors began to put up his hair, the good bishop, no longer able to endure so dismal a sight, and being full of grief and horror for that most wicked fact now ready to be executed, grew pale, and began to faint; so that if he had not been observed by his own servant and some others that stood near him, who thereupon supported him, he had swooned away; so they presently carried him down, and laid him on his bed, where he used those powerful weapons which God has left his people in such afflictions, viz., prayers and tears; tears that so horrid a sin should be committed, and prayers that God would give his prince patience and constancy to undergo those cruel sufferings."

During this interval, the primate was mainly engaged in his great work on chronology, which, together with his duty as preacher to Lincoln's Inn, occupied his days, and in some measure diverted his mind from the calamities of the time. These labours were, it is true, in some measure made heavier by the increasing infirmities of his advanced age; among which the most distressing was, the rapid decay of his sight, so that he could only write in strong light, and was mostly compelled to follow the sunshine from room to room. He found solace also in the correspondence of many of the worthiest and most learned men of his day, and though firmly attached to his principles, was yet restrained by no uncharitable prejudice from free and kind intercourse with the good and wise of every communion. Among his friends was the celebrated Richard Baxter, who wrote the most popular and useful of his numerous writings at the suggestion of the primate, leaving indeed thus a valuable testimony to the critical sagacity of his adviser. With Hall, Hammond, and other eminent ecclesiastics, whose names are honourably associated in those days of tribulation; as also with Causabon, Vossius, and other celebrated scholars, he kept up a friendly intercourse to the last.

In the family of the countess of Peterborough, whose name is rendered venerable and illustrious by her pious and affectionate care of his last declining years, the primate was attentive to the spiritual welfare of the household, and took a uniform part in their devotions. He was earnest in impressing the necessity of spiritual meditation and private prayer, without which public worship is but a form; and his counsel was maintained and enforced by the consistent tenor of his conduct. As the perceptible progress of decline appeared to bring more near the mysterious barrier at which the cares and trappings of mortality are put off, his spirit was more exclusively and more strongly upheld by faith in the only refuge which can rationally avail against the terrors of that awful approach. When Cromwell found his own power established and firm against the warring crosswinds of creed and faction, he seems for a time to have entertained the idea of relaxing the persecution against the ministers of the church: and it was by many thought to be indicative of good, when in 1654 he invited the primate to visit him. This invitation may, however, with more likelihood be attributed to the increased intercourse with respectable men of every class, which followed his elevation. The primate hesitated; but in addition to the hope of good, he must have felt the contrary result which might follow on a refusal, which could not but carry with it

some portion of contempt. He therefore very reluctantly made up his mind to pay the expected visit.

He was received by Cromwell with the respect and courtesy due to his character, and was consulted on the best means for the general advancement of the protestant religion both at home and abroad. Such a conversation can easily be conceived to have passed with much cordiality, and even unanimity of sentiment; it is probable it was confined to the consideration of political means. But on a larger view, it is plain enough that there were suggestions enough to be avoided with some degree of tact and forbearance. The consideration of Cromwell was more substantially shown; the allowance which the parliament had made for the primate's subsistence, had been suspended for some time; but about this time it was renewed by the Protector's order. He also promised him a lease for twenty-one years, of a part of the lands in his diocese of Armagh: but the promise, when claimed by Sir T. Tyrrel, was afterwards refused, on the suspicion of his being infected with loyalty.

In 1655, Cromwell felt himself strong enough to cast aside even the stern and captious connivance which he had till then maintained towards the church of England clergy; and issued from his council a declaration in which they were excluded even from the private exercise of their ministry. The blow was as deeply felt, and as cruel as it was needless; for the ministry of these persecuted men was purely spiritual, and in no way involving any political agency, further than the general connexion then supposed to exist between episcopacy and the monarchical constitution of England—but this indeed was perhaps enough. The supposed influence of the primate pointed him out as the fittest person to plead the cause of the suffering clergy: he undertook the mission, and, in his first interviews with Cromwell, obtained a promise that the clergy should not be molested, if they would abstain from political interference. But when the primate again went to have the promise confirmed in writing, he found Cromwell in the hands of the surgeon, who was dressing a boil on his breast. He asked the primate to sit down, saying that he would speak to him when dressed. In the mean time, he pointed to the boil and said, "If this core were out I should be quickly well." "I doubt the core lies deeper; there is a core at the heart which must be taken out, or else it will not be well," replied the primate. "Ah! so there is indeed," said the lord Protector with a sigh. After this characteristic colloquy, when the surgeon departed, and the primate proposed his errand, Cromwell cut him short with the statement that he had consulted with his council since their last interview; and they had advised against granting liberty of conscience to men whom he considered to be implacable enemies to his government—and the matter ended. The primate felt deeply wounded by the falsehood of the proceeding, and still more afflicted for the sake of the persecuted men who had committed their cause to him. He retired with a heavy heart, and shut himself up in his chamber. To the friends who came to inquire of his success, he said, "This false man hath broken his word with me, and refuses to perform what he promised. Well, he will have little cause to glory in his

wickedness, for he will not continue long. The king will return: though I shall not live to see it, you may."

Evelyn, in his diary, mentions some particulars of an interview with the primate a little after the last mentioned incident:—it is on many accounts worthy of being transcribed, "1655, Aug. 21. I went to Ryegate to visit Mrs Cary, at my lady Peterborough's, in an ancient monastery, well in repaire, but the parke much defaced; the house is nobly furnished. The chimney-piece in the greate chamber, carv'd in wood, was the property of Hen. VIII.; and was taken from an house of his in Blechinglee. At Ryegate was now y^e archbishop of Armagh, the learned James Usher, whom I went to visite. He received me exceeding kindly. In discourse with him he told me how greate the losse of time was to study much the Eastern languages; that excepting Hebrew, there was little fruite to be gathered of exceeding labour; that besides some mathematical bookes, the Arabic itselfe had little considerable; that the best text was y^e Hebrew Bible; that y^e Septuagint was finish'd in 70 daies, but full of errors, about which he was then writing; but St Hierom's was to be valued next the Hebrew; and that the 70 translated the Pentateuch only, the rest was finished by others; that the Italians understood but little Greeke, and Kircher was a mountebank; that Mr Selden's best book was his 'Titles of Honour;' that the church would be destroyed by sectaries, who would in all likelihood bring in poperie. In conclusion, he recommended me to the study of philologie above all human studies; and so with his blessing I tooke my leave of this excellent person, and returned to Wooton."

But the hour of rest was fast approaching: the measure of afflictions and the cup of trial had long been full; the career illustrious for good deeds, and labours of love, was closing in its fulness, and a large bequest of immortal works, monuments more durable than the results of conquest, completed to guide and enlighten future times. And seldom does a good man leave this scene of trial under circumstances which can be dwelt on with more full complacency.

For the last two years of his life, he was obliged by the loss of his teeth to desist from preaching, though he still continued to make occasional efforts in the pulpit, at the entreaty of his admirers and friends: and his preaching was eagerly followed to the last. One of his latest efforts was, a funeral sermon for his friend the learned Selden, who was buried in the temple.

After the afflicting result of his last mentioned communication with Cromwell, he went to Ryegate, and entered on his usual studies, having been for some time engaged in the endeavour to complete his Annals. And here he spent the remaining few weeks of his life, between the commencement of the year, and the 20th of March in the year 1656. In this interval he was visited by Dr Parr, who preached before him, and records a few of the remarks made to him after his discourse, by the primate. "I thank you for your sermon. I am going out of this world, and I now desire according to your text, *to seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God*; and to be with him in heaven, of which we can

have no doubt, if we can evidence to ourselves our conversion, true faith and charity, and live in the exercise of those christian graces and virtues, with perseverance; mortifying daily our inbred corruptions, and renouncing all ungodliness and worldly lusts, &c."

On the 20th of March there appeared no cause for any present apprehension in the primate's health; he rose as usual, and passed the morning among his books and engaged in his wonted task. He laid aside his labour to visit a sick lady, to whom he offered the encouragements and consolations of the gospel, with more than even his wonted flow of spiritual and heavenly-minded energy. And the day passed away as usual; but at night his rest was broken by some pain, which instead of passing off as was at first hoped, grew more violent towards morning, and resisted every means employed to quiet it. He bore it with the patience of a christian; but it subdued his remaining strength, and he soon felt an increase of exhaustion, from which he knew that he could not expect to rally. On the first interval of ease, he called for the chaplain of the family to assist his last devotions, and after some time spent in earnest prayer, he solemnly addressed the family who surrounded his bed, with those impressive truths which belonged to the occasion. He concluded by thanking his kind friend and benefactress for all her care and friendship which had smoothed his path of trials and adversities so long. He then expressed a wish to be left alone, to collect his mind for the change which he felt approaching; and in this state met the end of his earthly pilgrimage, and entered upon the rest of his Lord.

The countess of Peterborough intended that the remains of her venerable friend should have a place in her family vault at Ryegate. Cromwell, whose judgment and good taste were seldom astray, in any thing nearly concerning the honour and dignity of his government, sent to countermand the preparation, and ordered that there should be a public funeral. For this a distant day was fixed, and the proceeding and ceremony appointed. On this no detail is required. On the 17th of April, twenty-seven days from his death, he was brought from Ryegate to St George's church in Southwark, where, according to order, the procession was joined by his friends; from thence he was borne to Somerset house, in the Strand, where at one o'clock, "those of the ministry and others," met and accompanied the corpse to Westminster abbey, when it was interred in the chapel. The funeral sermon was preached by Dr Bernard, of Gray's inn, formerly his chaplain, and afterwards one of his biographers. His text was in 1 Samuel xxv. 1. *And Samuel died; and all Israel were gathered together, and lamented him, and buried him.* Great crowds attended, and much respect was strongly displayed by the people.

At the close of a memoir, in which we have been led to transgress the limits of our measured space, it must be unnecessary to dwell further on the character of one whose mind is so amply delineated in all his deeds. He was in person above the middle height, with a countenance grave, dignified, and intelligent, but mild, combining in its expression the humanity of the scholar with the benevolence of the christian. Nor was the engaging promise of his appearance belied in his frank and kind conversation, which overflowed ever with the

wisdom of his intellect and the charity of his heart. Of that superiority of knowledge, which placed him, *facile princeps*, at the head of the eminent scholars of his day, his works remain to speak.

The history of his library, which was nearly the entire of his property, is not without its interest. It was his known intention to bequeath it to the university of Dublin, the nurse of his genius. But there were some strong reasons against the execution of his design, and obstacles arose which had nearly deprived the kingdom altogether of this venerable monument. The primate, considering the large family of lady Tyrrel, to whom he had given no fortune, bequeathed the books to her. A handsome price was offered for them by the king of Denmark, and cardinal Mazarin was no less liberal. Cromwell prohibited a sale so unfortunate for the honour of England, and it was not long after purchased by the Irish army to be presented to the university: here again Cromwell interposed, and the volumes were, by his order, stored in some rooms of Dublin castle. After the restoration, they were presented by the king to the university; and yet form a valuable portion of its library.

Lancelot Bulkeley, Archbishop of Dublin.

CONSECRATED A. D. 1619.—DIED A. D. 1650.

BULKELEY was born in Wales, about the year 1568; his family was noble. He received his education in the university of Oxford, where he took Master's degree. In 1593 he was ordained, and obtained a benefice in Wales. He was afterwards promoted to the archdeaconry of Dublin, and after filling this office for a short time, he was consecrated archbishop of the same see.

The history of his life, if related in detail, would only bring us over the same ground through which we have already had to pass in frequent repetitions: we shall therefore select a few incidents more proper to his history. We have already mentioned the main outline of the dispute concerning the primacy, which he renewed with primate Hampton, and afterwards with Usher, in whose favour it was decided.

In 1629, he was informed that the friars of a Carmelite monastery, in Cook Street, were busy in the dissemination of that insurrectionary spirit, and those seditious doctrines which in no long time after manifested their effects in a sanguinary massacre and rebellion. With laudable spirit the archbishop applied to the constituted authorities for a warrant and military force to seize the offenders. The Carmelites showed no less spirit in the defence of their brethren: they refused to give up the offenders, and with the aid of the mob resisted the archbishop and his musqueteers so effectively, that he had some difficulty in making his escape from their fury. The transaction indicates the advance already made at the time by the papal power in this country, and the inefficiency of the organization by which it was resisted—the real cause of the sufferings of the Irish people during that stormy century. A report was made to the privy council in England, and it was directed, "That the house where so many

friars appeared in their habits, and wherein the reverend archbishop, and the mayor of Dublin, received the first public affront, be speedily demolished, and be a mark of terror to the resisters of authority; and that the rest of the houses, erected or employed there or elsewhere in Ireland, to the use of superstitious societies, be converted to houses of correction, &c." This order appears seasoned with a due sense of the decisive character of the danger of the times. But it was the prominent defect in the government of Ireland, that it was rather violent by starts than steadily administered: thus entailing the ill effects of individual caprice and temper, rather than the calm but strong action of a systematic policy, firmly and uniformly pursued. All demonstrations of vigour were deprived of their proper effect, and tainted with the colouring of wrong, by being retracted as soon as the irritation of the moment died away. Against such feeble demonstrations, the sanction of religion, the cry of pretended wrong, the specious assertion of rights and denial of accusations were opposed with a front of consistency, and a persevering combination of artifice and zeal, which were enough to deceive even those who were deepest in the counsels of the Romish cabinet, and to kindle slowly, but surely, the fuel of 1641.* The orders of the privy council were rarely carried into effect: and lenity had the uniform result, which it must always have when uncombined with the due assertion of public authority, and acts of popular violence soon compelled a partial demonstration of vigour. A priest seized for some infraction of the law was forcibly rescued by the populace: in consequence, the English council directed the seizure of fifteen religious houses which had been recently erected in Dublin.

In 1635, a charter was granted by the king confirming to the archbishop of Dublin and his successors, all previous liberties, privileges, and grants, belonging to the see. "This charter very fully details, in particular, the extent and privileges of the manor of St Sepulchre's and its liberties."†

In the year 1647, when the embers of the long rebellion in this island were quenched in blood by the relentless sword of Cromwell and Ireton, the Irish church followed the fortune of the church of England, and lay prostrate under the spiritual democracy of the independents. The liturgy was prohibited, and the directory established in the churches of the metropolis. In the university alone, the forms of the church were reluctantly connived at, and the liturgy was retained in the college chapel.

In 1649, however, the archbishop ventured an act of honourable disobedience to the spiritual tyranny of the commonwealth. Feeling the decay of life, and broken by the operation of grief and repeated shocks of insult and resentment, he resolved to take his leave in public of a dignity shorn of its honours and sacred functions. With this view he assembled a congregation at St Patrick's cathedral, among which were many persons afterwards promoted to eminence in better days, the two Parrys afterwards bishops of Ossory, a future dean of

* We consider this to be the best palliation of the massacre of 1641. They who deny the facts of that period, and vindicate its principles, take inconsistent ground.

† Dalton.

doublet, and stood stripped in his waistcoat, and that the villains in vizors began to put up his hair, the good bishop, no longer able to endure so dismal a sight, and being full of grief and horror for that most wicked fact now ready to be executed, grew pale, and began to faint; so that if he had not been observed by his own servant and some others that stood near him, who thereupon supported him, he had swooned away; so they presently carried him down, and laid him on his bed, where he used those powerful weapons which God has left his people in such afflictions, viz., prayers and tears; tears that so horrid a sin should be committed, and prayers that God would give his prince patience and constancy to undergo those cruel sufferings."

During this interval, the primate was mainly engaged in his great work on chronology, which, together with his duty as preacher to Lincoln's Inn, occupied his days, and in some measure diverted his mind from the calamities of the time. These labours were, it is true, in some measure made heavier by the increasing infirmities of his advanced age; among which the most distressing was, the rapid decay of his sight, so that he could only write in strong light, and was mostly compelled to follow the sunshine from room to room. He found solace also in the correspondence of many of the worthiest and most learned men of his day, and though firmly attached to his principles, was yet restrained by no uncharitable prejudice from free and kind intercourse with the good and wise of every communion. Among his friends was the celebrated Richard Baxter, who wrote the most popular and useful of his numerous writings at the suggestion of the primate, leaving indeed thus a valuable testimony to the critical sagacity of his adviser. With Hall, Hammond, and other eminent ecclesiastics, whose names are honourably associated in those days of tribulation; as also with Causabon, Vossius, and other celebrated scholars, he kept up a friendly intercourse to the last.

In the family of the countess of Peterborough, whose name is rendered venerable and illustrious by her pious and affectionate care of his last declining years, the primate was attentive to the spiritual welfare of the household, and took a uniform part in their devotions. He was earnest in impressing the necessity of spiritual meditation and private prayer, without which public worship is but a form; and his counsel was maintained and enforced by the consistent tenor of his conduct. As the perceptible progress of decline appeared to bring more near the mysterious barrier at which the cares and trappings of mortality are put off, his spirit was more exclusively and more strongly upheld by faith in the only refuge which can rationally avail against the terrors of that awful approach. When Cromwell found his own power established and firm against the warring crosswinds of creed and faction, he seems for a time to have entertained the idea of relaxing the persecution against the ministers of the church: and it was by many thought to be indicative of good, when in 1654 he invited the primate to visit him. This invitation may, however, with more likelihood be attributed to the increased intercourse with respectable men of every class, which followed his elevation. The primate hesitated; but in addition to the hope of good, he must have felt the contrary result which might follow on a refusal, which could not but carry with it

some portion of contempt. He therefore very reluctantly made up his mind to pay the expected visit.

He was received by Cromwell with the respect and courtesy due to his character, and was consulted on the best means for the general advancement of the protestant religion both at home and abroad. Such a conversation can easily be conceived to have passed with much cordiality, and even unanimity of sentiment; it is probable it was confined to the consideration of political means. But on a larger view, it is plain enough that there were suggestions enough to be avoided with some degree of tact and forbearance. The consideration of Cromwell was more substantially shown; the allowance which the parliament had made for the primate's subsistence, had been suspended for some time; but about this time it was renewed by the Protector's order. He also promised him a lease for twenty-one years, of a part of the lands in his diocese of Armagh: but the promise, when claimed by Sir T. Tyrrel, was afterwards refused, on the suspicion of his being infected with loyalty.

In 1655, Cromwell felt himself strong enough to cast aside even the stern and captious connivance which he had till then maintained towards the church of England clergy; and issued from his council a declaration in which they were excluded even from the private exercise of their ministry. The blow was as deeply felt, and as cruel as it was needless; for the ministry of these persecuted men was purely spiritual, and in no way involving any political agency, further than the general connexion then supposed to exist between episcopacy and the monarchical constitution of England—but this indeed was perhaps enough. The supposed influence of the primate pointed him out as the fittest person to plead the cause of the suffering clergy: he undertook the mission, and, in his first interviews with Cromwell, obtained a promise that the clergy should not be molested, if they would abstain from political interference. But when the primate again went to have the promise confirmed in writing, he found Cromwell in the hands of the surgeon, who was dressing a boil on his breast. He asked the primate to sit down, saying that he would speak to him when dressed. In the mean time, he pointed to the boil and said, "If this core were out I should be quickly well." "I doubt the core lies deeper; there is a core at the heart which must be taken out, or else it will not be well," replied the primate. "Ah! so there is indeed," said the lord Protector with a sigh. After this characteristic colloquy; when the surgeon departed, and the primate proposed his errand, Cromwell cut him short with the statement that he had consulted with his council since their last interview; and they had advised against granting liberty of conscience to men whom he considered to be implacable enemies to his government—and the matter ended. The primate felt deeply wounded by the falsehood of the proceeding, and still more afflicted for the sake of the persecuted men who had committed their cause to him. He retired with a heavy heart, and shut himself up in his chamber. To the friends who came to inquire of his success, he said, "This false man hath broken his word with me, and refuses to perform what he promised. Well, he will have little cause to glory in his

this eminent and excellent man he spent a large portion of his time, in study and religious conversation, unrestrained by any of those nominal differences that might exist between them; for Father Paul was zealously seeking for the truth, and prepared to receive it, through whatever channel it might flow. They mutually assisted each other in the study of their native languages, and frequently read together the Greek New Testament, on the different doctrinal passages of which Bedell always shed a new light, and explained them to the entire satisfaction of his friend. He afterwards confessed, with much candour, that "he had learned more of theology and practical religion from Mr Bedell, than from any other person with whom he had conversed during his whole life." He was also greatly struck with the English liturgy, which Bedell translated both into Italian and Latin, and in conjunction with many of his friends, resolved to adopt it into common use, in case their differences with the Pope (which were then at their height) should end, as they hoped, in separating them from his jurisdiction.

The origin of these differences is too well known to need discussion, and are detailed with great accuracy in the works of Father Paulo himself. We cannot, however, omit the argument made use of by cardinal Baronius to the Pope, for the purpose of proving the divine sanction that existed for his carrying death and destruction into the refractory state which had resisted his interdict, and retained two lawless friars in prison, the Pope having ordered their liberation. The cardinal stated that there had been two distinct injunctions given to St Peter, the first being, "Feed my sheep," but the second, "Arise and kill;" and that, therefore, "since he had already executed the first part of St Peter's duty, in *feeding the flock*, by exhortations, admonitions, and censures, without the desired effect, he had nothing left but *to arise and kill*." The general ignorance of the Scriptures that prevailed, made it unnecessary for him to allude to the two distinct occasions on which these injunctions were given, as it is possible that the mass of the people knew nothing either of the prayer of Cornelius or the vision of Peter.

During Bedell's stay at Venice, the famous Ant. de Dominis, archbishop of Spalata, came there, and formed an intimacy and friendship with him, in the course of which he communicated to him the secret of his having composed the ten books *de Republica Ecclesiastica*, which he afterwards printed at London. Bedell corrected for him many mistakes, both in the quotations in it, and their applications, which the archbishop's ignorance of the Greek tongue made inevitable. The brief history and melancholy fate of this prelate may be given in a few words. On the termination of the differences some years after, between the Pope and Venice, he accompanied Bedell to England, where he was received with every mark of respect and consideration. The clergy, however, at last became offended and disgusted by his overweening pretensions, and his vanity made him resent their supposed derelictions. On the promotion of Pope Gregory IV., (his former schoolfellow,) he was led to believe that the Pope intended to give him a cardinal's hat, and to make great use of him in all affairs of importance. Under the mixed motives that generally influence

mankind, he yielded to the urgency and representations of Gundamor, the Spanish ambassador, hoping at once to become an instrument of reformation to the Romish church, and to forward his own views of personal aggrandizement. In an evil hour he returned to Rome, where he was at first well received, but happening to remark that cardinal Bellarmine, who wrote in opposition to him, had not refuted his arguments, a complaint was made to the Pope that he held the same opinions as formerly, and though he offered to refute those he before held, he was seized, thrown into the inquisition, never brought to trial, but privately poisoned a short time after, when his body was thrown out of a window, and his goods confiscated to the Pope. But to return to Bedell. About this period, a Jesuit, named Thomas Maria Carassa, published a work which he dedicated to the then Pope, blasphemously calling him PAVLO V. VICE DEO, *Christianæ Reipublicæ monarchæ invictissimo et Pontificiæ omnipotentæ conservatori acerrimo*,* which so much shocked Bedell, that it probably recalled to his mind some of the prophetic descriptions of the Man of Sin, and on retiring

to his study, and calculating the numerical letters of the title, PAVLO V. VICE DEO, he found it contain, by a strange coincidence, the number of the beast 666. He showed it to Sir Henry Wotton, to Father Paul, and to the seven divines, who immediately laid hold upon it, as if it had been by divine revelation from heaven, and acquainted the prince and the senate with it. It was carried suddenly through the city that this was Antichrist, and that they need not look for another." It was also published and preached through their territories; but when it came to the ears of the Pope, he caused a proclamation to be made, that Antichrist was born in Babylon, of the tribe of Dan, and was coming with a great army to waste and destroy all opposers; he therefore ordered the princes of Christendom, their vassals and tenants, to arm themselves speedily, and make ready for the coming contest. The public mind was thus turned into another channel, and before facts disproved the assertion, the excitement had subsided, and the subject was forgotten.

Bedell resided for eight years in Venice, and the general estimation in which he was held may be inferred from the manner in which he is spoken of in a letter written by the eminent Diodati of Geneva, to De Mornay. It curiously happened that Diodati was afterwards the cause of his being noticed and promoted in England, where his unobtrusive merits were for many years unknown,—so often does it happen that a prophet has no honour in his own country. The letter is as follows, and was written in 1608, when the principles of the reformation had widely spread, and were zealously embraced, both in the Venetian states and the countries dependent on them. "There lately passed through this place, a secretary of the English ambassador at Venice, on his return from England to that city, from which he had been absent about two months and a half. He described to me so particularly the state of affairs, that it seemed to me as if God declared to

* To Paul V., the vice-God, the most invincible monarch of the Christian commonwealth, and the most zealous asserter of papal omnipotence.

me, by his mouth, what he declared in a vision to St Paul at Corinth, the parallel between which city and Venice is very great.—*Be not afraid, but speak, and hold not thy peace; for I am with thee, and no man shall set on thee to hurt thee, for I have much people in this city.** This excellent person, who is grave and learned, spoke with much confidence of his hopes of some individuals, and of his expectation of most important general consequences: in sum, all is ready (to explode) and it only requires to apply the match. ‘Thus far,’ said he to me, ‘Venice is like a new world: it is the greatest consolation to find one’s self in companies and assemblies, at noblemen’s houses, and to hear them speak with so much piety and zeal of the truth of God, with those good men, Father Paul, Fulgentio, and Bedell, the ambassador’s chaplain. The public sermons are as good as could be preached at Geneva, and they are delivered with such earnestness, that crowds flock to hear them; and it is necessary to go very early to be in time to get a place. The inquisition is kept under by a senator, who is a member of it, without whose suffrage nothing can be decided; he is always chosen from amongst the greatest adversaries of the Pope. The vehemence against the Pope and the court of Rome is greater than ever. The Jesuits are denounced from the pulpit, their doctrines refuted and decried, and themselves mortally disliked. Many nobles provide themselves with tutors of the reformed religion to instruct their families; three-fourths of the nobility are warmly attached to the truth, and as these are gained over, so the rest are favourably inclined. The city is full of German artisans, who are, for the most part, protestants. My mind imagines the man of Macedonia exclaiming, ‘*Come over and help us.*’† This is the work of the Almighty.‡ Fulgentio was a divine of much eminence in Venice. When preaching on the text, *Have ye not read?* (Mat. xii. 3,) he told the people, that if Christ were now to ask the same question, all the answer they could give, would be, No; for we are forbidden to do so. Bedell also mentions, that on another occasion, when his text was the inquiry of Pilate, *What is truth?* after condemning the practice of withholding the scriptures from the people, Fulgentio told them, that as for himself, he had, after a long search, found out what was truth, and holding out a New Testament, he said that there it was, in his hand; he then put it in his pocket saying, ‘but it is a prohibited book.’”

Bedell spent much of his time in the study of Hebrew, for which purpose he secured the assistance of R. Leo, the chief Chacham of the Jewish synagogue in Venice. From him he learned the way of pronunciation, and some other parts of Rabbinical knowledge, and in return, communicated to him the true understanding of many passages in the Old Testament, with which that Rabbi expressed himself often highly satisfied; and once in a solemn dispute, he pressed the Rabbi with such clear proofs of Jesus Christ being the true Messiah, that he, with several of his brethren, had no other way to escape, but by saying that their Rabbins everywhere did expound those prophecies otherwise, according to the traditions of their fathers.§ Through the

* Acts xviii. 9, 10.

† Ibid. xvi. 9.

‡ Memoirs of De Mornay.

§ Burnet.

exertions of Leo he obtained the manuscript copy of the New Testament, which he afterwards gave to Emmanuel College, and which cost him its weight in silver.

When the period arrived for Mr Bedell's return to England, the parting between him and Father Paul was very affecting. The latter even thought of accompanying him there, but was prevented by the interference of the senate. They exchanged various tokens of regard, among which Father Paul gave Bedell a picture of himself, a Hebrew Psalter and Bible, in the same language, without points, besides large portions of his valuable writings in manuscript, most of which Bedell translated and got printed, both in Latin and English.

On his return to England, he established himself again at Bury St Edmunds, and shortly afterwards married Leah, the widow of a recorder of Bury, of the name of Maw, whom his biographer describes as "a person comely, virtuous, and godly." He had, by her, three sons and one daughter, two of whom died young.

In 1615, he was presented to the rectory of Horningsheath, by Sir Thomas Jermyn, who resided in the neighbourhood, and knew and appreciated his rare combination of piety, deep learning, and still deeper humility. On his coming to the then bishop of Norwich for induction, he found the fees demanded for the ceremony so enormous, that he conscientiously declined to pay more than for the writing, parchment and wax; considering that such demands partook of the nature of simony; and chose rather to relinquish the preferment than purchase a title to it by the sacrifice of principle. He accordingly left the bishop and returned home, but was sent for by him in a few days, and regularly inducted, the offensive fees being relinquished.

He remained there for twelve years, in the most zealous performance of his parochial duties, attending the sick, reclaiming the profligate, and relieving the indigent; while, at the same time, he was so successful in discovering and punishing impostors, that they shunned his parish, knowing that all they would be likely to obtain there would be disgrace and exposure. During his residence at Horningsheath, his friend Waddesworth died, and he, shortly afterwards, in 1624, published the friendly controversy which had taken place between them: the correspondence is made the more interesting by the statement of Waddesworth's son, who mentioned that Bedell's letters almost always lay open before his father; that he commanded him to thank him for the pains he had been at in writing them; he also said that he was resolved to *save one*, which seems to be explained by his carefully bringing up his son in the protestant faith; but he does not seem to have had sufficient energy, whatever may have been his convictions, to retrace his own steps.

In the commencement of this correspondence, Bedell after excusing himself for not writing sooner, and giving many reasons, adds, but they did not yet satisfy me, for all men are interested in the defence of truth; how much more he that is called to be a preacher of it? All Christians are admonished by St Jude, "To fight for the faith given to the saints;" how much more those that are leaders in this warfare. How could I say I loved Jesus Christ, if his honour being questioned I should be silent—how could I approve to my own soul that I loved

you, if I suffered you to enjoy your own error, suppose not damnable? Besides that you, and perhaps others also, might be confirmed in it; perhaps interpreting my silence for a confession, that your motives were unanswerable. But therein I was not only resolved myself to the contrary, but thought it so easy to resolve any indifferent mind, as methought it was more shame not to have done it at first, than praise to do it at the last. As for the success of my endeavour, I was to leave it to God. Many and secret are the ways of his providence, which serveth itself sometimes even of errors, to the safer conduct of us to our final happiness."

In a subsequent letter he says, "I hope you shall perceive that setting aside our difference of opinion, I am the same to you that I was when we were either scholars in Emmanuel College, or ministers in Suffolk. For the substance, I do endeavour still to write to the purpose, omitting nothing material in your letters. If sometimes I seem over long, and perhaps to digress somewhat from the principal point more than was necessary, I hope you will pardon it, sith you required a long answer, and the delay itself had need to bring you some interest for the forbearance. And because you mention the vehemency of discreet lawyers (although methinks we are rather the clients themselves that contend, since the faith is our own and best freehold), let me entreat of you this ingenuity (which I protest in the sight of God I bring myself). Let us not make head against evident reason, for our own credit, or fashion, and faction's sake, as lawyers sometimes are wont. Neither let us think we lose the victory, when truth overcomes. We shall have part of it rather, and the better part, since error, the common enemy to us both, is to us more dangerous. For truth is secure and impregnable; we, if our error be not conquered, must remain servants to corruption. It is the first praise, saith St Augustine, to hold the true opinion, the next to forsake the false, and surely that is no hard mastery to do, when both are set before us, if we will not be either reckless or obstinate. From both which our Lord of his mercy evermore help us, and bring us to his everlasting kingdom. Amen.

Your very loving brother,

W. BEDELL."

Horningsheath, October, 22d, 1620.

In undertaking the correspondence, he says, "I shall endeavour to observe that precept of the Apostle: *αληθως εις εν αγαπη*, whether it be interpreted, *loving sincerely*, or *seeking truth lovingly*. Neither soothing untruth for the dearness of your person, nor breaking charity for diversity of opinion. * * *

You say, you are become Catholic. Were you not then so before? The creed wherein you were baptized, is it not the Catholic faith? The conclusion certes of Athanasius' creed, which is but a declaration thereof, saith, *Hæc est Fides Catholica*; or, is he not a Catholic that holds the Catholic faith? That which was once answered, touching the present church of England, to one in a stationer's shop in Venice, that would needs know what was the difference betwixt us and the Catholics. It was told him none; for we accounted ourselves good

Catholics. When he, unwilling to be put off in his answer, for lack of due form in his question, pressed to know what was the difference betwixt us and them there. He was answered this, That we believed the Catholic faith, contained in the creed, but did not believe the thirteenth article which the pope had put to it. When he knew not of any such article, the extravagance of Pope Boniface was brought, where he defines it to be altogether of necessity to salvation, to every human creature to be under the bishop of Rome. This thirteenth article of the thirteenth apostle, good Mr Waddesworth, it seems you have learned; and so are become, as some now speak and write, Catholic Roman. That is in true interpretation *universal, particular*; which because they cannot be equalled, the one restraining and cutting off from the other; take heed that by straitening your faith to Rome, you have not altered it, and by becoming Roman left off to be Catholic.

"Thus, if you say our ancestors were all, till of late years, excuse me, Sir, whether you call our ancestors the first Christian inhabitants of this isle, or the ancient Christians of the primitive church; neither those nor these were Roman Catholics; namely, the fathers of the African council, and amongst these St Augustine. And therefore (by pope Boniface, his sentence) be undoubtedly damned, for taking upon them, by *the devil's instinct* (if we believe, another pope Boniface) to wax proud against the church of Rome. Such Catholics if ye mean, the most of Christendom be at this day; beware of putting your issue.

* * *

Touching the names of papist, traitor, idolater, (terms of reproach used towards him by Dr Hall, and of which he bitterly complained). The first is no miscalling you, as comprising the very character that differenceth you from all other Catholics. Neither by our Rhemists' advice should you be ashamed of it, sith to be a papist, by their interpretation, is *nothing else, but to be a Christian man, a child of the church, and subject to Christ's vicar.*

* * *

A traitor, I am assured, Mr Dr Hall will never call you, unless he know that you have drunk so deep of the cup of error, as to believe that the pope may depose your prince; that you are not bound to obey him being so deposed; that in that case it is lawful, yea meritorious to kill him;

* * *

I hope you are far from these furies. For idolatry, if to give divine honour to creatures deserve that name, consider how you can defend or excuse those prayers to the blessed virgin, *Tu nos ab hoste proteges, et hora mortis suscipe*. And to the cross, *Auge piis justitiam, reisque dona veniam*. I omit to speak of the pope's omnipotency, I hope also you keep yourself from this idolatry.

"In Protestant religion, you say, you could never find uniformity of a settled faith. How so; when you had that same* *one only immovable and unreformable rule of faith*, as *Tertullian* calls it, every Lord's day recited in your hearing, if not by your mouth: I mean the creed, of which Irenæus saith, that he which is able to say much of the faith exceeds it not, nor he that less, diminisheth;† which Saint Augustine

* De veland virg. c. 1.

† Lib. i. c. 3.

calls the rule common to great and small;* which might well enough have settled and quieted your conscience, whilst you laboured to find the truth in all doubtful questions!"

In another letter speaking of the want of uniformity of which protestants are accused, and stating the various dissentient opinions that exist among Roman Catholics, he says, "If unity in all things be, as it seems, despaired of, by this your Gellius himself; why are we not content with *unity in things necessary to salvation* expressly set down in holy Scripture: and anciently thought to suffice, that every man having embraced that necessary truth, which is the rule of our faith, thereby try the spirits whether they be of God or no? If he meet with any that hath not that doctrine, receive him not to house, nor salute him. If consenting to that, but otherwise infirm or erring, yet charitably bear with him."

In a subsequent one he says, "whatsoever a protestant holds, as of faith, you cannot deny to be good and catholic, nor any christian man else. For he binds him to his creed, to the holy Scriptures, and goes no farther: and in these he has your testimony for him. But he denies many things which you believe, and accounts them foreign, yea repugnant to faith, as the pope's infallibility, transubstantiation, purgatory, worshipping of images, invocation of saints. In all these you speak only for yourselves, in some of these you have not us only, but all other Christians your opposites, to say nothing of the Jews and Turks whom I might as well choke you withal, as you do the protestants with the anabaptists. So by this reason our profession is more safe and secure, and questionless is more catholic than yours. Neither have we in this discourse the argument only as you see, very applicable and favourable to us, but (which I entreat you by the way to observe) the *conclusion* itself often granted by moderate and sober men of your own side, viz.† That our course is in sundry things more safe than yours. As in making no image of God. In trusting only in the merits of Christ. In worshipping none but the Trinity. In directing our prayers to our Lord Jesus Christ alone. In allowing ministers to marry. In divers other points also, many of your side say the same with the protestants, and defend us from the imputations which others of you lay upon us, as is shewed in the *Catholic Apology*, by the Reverend bishop of Chester."

In answer to a letter of Waddesworth's, in which he states his deep study and research among ancient authorities to ascertain the truth, before he adopted the Catholic faith, Bedell says, "But surely, Sir, had you given that honour to the holy Scriptures, which of the Jews was given to them, and then employed as much travel in the searching and looking into them, as you profess to have done in the perusing the councils and fathers, perhaps God had opened your eyes, as those of Elisha his servant, to have seen, that *there are more on our side, than against us*; horses, indeed, and chariots of fire, able to put to flight and scatter never so great armies of human authorities and

* Epis. ad Dardanum.

† Abulensis Bellarmine, Faber, Erasmus, Cassander, Hofmeister, Æneas Sylvius.

opinions. But this place of the scriptures hath no place amongst all your motives."

The concluding letter winds up all so well, is written in so Christian a spirit, and is so much shorter than any of the former, that we are tempted to give the entire.

"Yet by these (you say) and many other arguments, you were resolved in your understanding to the contrary. It may well be that your understanding, out of its own heedless haste, as that of our first parents, while it was at the perfectest, was induced into error, by resolving too soon out of seeming arguments, and granting too forward assent. For surely, these which you have mentioned, could not convince it, if it would have taken the pains to examine them thoroughly, and had the patience to give impartial hearing to the motives on the other side. But as if you triumphed in your own conquest and captivity, you add that which passeth yet all that hitherto you have set down, viz. That the church of Rome was, and is the only true church, because it alone is ancient, catholic, and apostolic, having succession, unity, and visibility in all ages and places. Is it only ancient? To omit Jerusalem, are that of Antioch, where the disciples were first called Christians, and Alexandria, Ephesus, Corinth, and the rest mentioned in the scriptures, ancient also? And of Antioch, ancients than Rome—Is it catholic and apostolic only? Do not these and many more hold the catholic faith received from the apostles, as well as the church of Rome? For that it should be the *universal church*, is all one as ye would say, the part is the whole, one city the world. Hath it only *succession*? Where, to set aside the enquiry of doctrine, so many simoniacks, and intruders have ruled, as about fifty of your popes together, were by your own men's confession *apostatical* rather than *apostolical*? Or unity, where there have been thirty schisms, and one of them which endured fifty years long, and at last grew into three heads, as if they would share among them the triple crown? And as for dissensions in doctrine, I remit you to Master Doctor Hall's *Peace of Rome*, wherein he scores above three hundred mentioned in Bellarmine alone; above threescore in one only head of penance out of Navarrus. As to that addition, *in all ages and places*; I know not what to make of it, nor where to refer it. Consider, I beseech you, with your wonted moderation, what you say; for sure unless you were beguiled, I had almost said bewitched, you could never have resolved to believe and profess, that which all the world knows to be as false, I had (well nigh) said as God is true, touching the extent of the Romish church to all ages and places.

"Concerning the *agonies you passed*, I will only say thus much, if being resolved though erroneously that was truth, you were withholden from professing it with worldly respects, you did well to break through them all. But if besides these there were doubt of the contrary (as methinks needs must be) unless you could satisfy yourself touching those many and known exceptions against the court of Rome, which you could not be ignorant of, take heed lest the rest ensuing these agonies were not like Sampson's sleeping on Dalilah's knees, while the locks of his strength were shaven, whereupon (the Lord departing from him) he was taken by the Philistines, had his eyes put

out, and was made to grind in the prison. But I do not despair, but your former resolutions shall grow again. And as I do believe your religious asseveration, that *for very fear of damnation* you forsook us (which makes me to have the better hope and opinion of you, for that I see you do so seriously mind that which is the end of our whole life;) so I desire from my heart the good hope of salvation you have in your present way may be as happy, as your fear I am persuaded was causeless.

"For my part I call God to record against mine own soul, that before my going into Italy, and since, I have still endeavoured to find out and follow the truth in the points controverted between us, without any earthly respect in the world. Neither wanted I fair opportunity had I seen it on that side, easily and with the hope of good entertainment to have adjoined myself to the church of Rome, after your example. But (to use your words) as I shall answer at the dreadful day of judgment, I never saw, heard, or read anything which did convince me: nay, which did not finally confirm me daily more and more, in the persuasion, that in these differences it rests on our part, wherein I have not followed human conjectures from foreign and outward things (as by your leave methinks you do in these motives, whereby I protest to in the sight of God, I am also much comforted and assured in the possession of the truth), but the undoubted voice of God in his word, which is more to my conscience than a thousand topical arguments.* In regard whereof, I am no less assured, that if I should forsake it, I should be renounced by our Saviour, before God and his angels, than in the holding it be acknowledged and saved; which makes me resolve, not only for no hope, if it were ten thousand worlds, but by the gracious assistance of God, without whom I am able to do nothing, for no terror or torment, ever to become a papist.

"You see what a large distance there is between us in opinion. Yet for my part, I do not take upon me to forejudge you, or any other that doth not with an evil mind and self-condemning conscience only to maintain a faction, differ from that which I am persuaded is the right. I account we hold one, and the same faith in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and by him in the blessed Trinity. To his judgment we stand or fall. Incomparably more and of more importance are those things wherein we agree; than those wherein we dissent. Let us follow therefore the things of peace and of mutual edification. If any be otherwise minded than he ought, God shall reveal that also to him. If any be weak or fallen, God is able to raise him up. And of you good Mr Waddesworth, and the rest of my masters and brethren of that side, one thing I would again desire, that according to the apostle's profession of himself, you would forbear to be lords over our faith, nor straightway condemn of heresy, our ignorance or lack of persuasion concerning such things as we cannot perceive to be founded in holy scripture. Enjoy your own opinions, but make them not articles of our faith: the analogy whereof is broken as well by addition as subtraction. And this self-same equity we

* Arguments drawn from probability.

desire to find in positive laws, orders and ceremonies. Wherein as every church hath full right to prescribe that which is decent and to edification, and to reform abuse; so those that are members of each are to follow what is enjoined, till by the same authority it be reversed.

"And now to close up this account of yours, whereof you would have Dr S. Hall and me to be as it were examiners and auditors. Whether it be perfect and allowable or no, look ye to it. I have here told you mine opinion of it, as directly, plainly, and freely, as I can; and, as you required, fully, if not tediously. I list not to contend with you about it. Satisfy your own conscience, and our common Lord and master, and you shall easily satisfy me. Once yet, by my advice, review it, and cast it over again. And if in the particulars you find you have taken many *nullities for signifying numbers*, many *smaller* signifiers for *greater*; correct the total. If you find, namely, that out of desire of unity, and dislike of contention, you have apprehended our *diversities* to be more than they are; conceived a necessity of an *external infallible Judge*, where there was none; attributed the *privilege of the church, properly so called*, to that which is *visible and mixt*; if you find the reformed churches more charitable, the proper note of Christ's sheep, the Roman faction more fraudulent, and that by public counsel, and of politic purpose, in framing not only all later writers, but some ancient, yea, the Holy Scriptures, for their advantage; if you find you have mistaken the Protestants' doctrine touching *invisibility*, your own also touching *uniformity* in matters of faith; if you have been misinformed, and too hasty of credit touching the imputations laid to the beginners of the reformation; for, touching the want of succession, and the fabulous ordination at the Nag's-head, I hope you will not persist in your error, but confess and condemn it in yourself; if, (as I began to say,) you find those things to be thus, give glory to God, that hath heard your prayers, entreating direction in his holy truth, and withhold not that truth of his in unrighteousness. Unto him that is able to restore and establish you, yea, to consummate and perfect you according to his almighty power and unspeakable goodness, towards his elect in Christ Jesus, I do from my heart commend you, and rest you,

"Your very loving brother,

"in Christ Jesus,

"W. BEDELL."

The argumentative part of this interesting correspondence has been necessarily omitted, as being too voluminous, and not to our present purpose; but even this brief abstract will give an idea of the friendly, yet fervent and uncompromising spirit, in which this christian controversy was sustained, and which terminated, unlike the generality of religious disputes, in increased regard on both sides; and subsequent circumstances, before alluded to, such as the bringing up of his son in the protestant faith, &c., would seem to imply the internal, though unavowed convictions of Waddesworth.

Bedell lived almost exclusively in his parish, and devoted himself to the active duties of his profession, so that although he had published many works, he was but little personally known. When his

friend Diodati came over from Geneva, and inquired for him among the members of his profession, he was greatly surprised to find a man so eminent as Bedell, and one so prized and appreciated in a foreign country, so entirely overlooked in his own, and after many fruitless inquiries he had to give up the search. At length he "met with him by chance," says his biographer, "in Cheapside, and embraced him with all the joyful affection imaginable, until they both shed many tears; after which interview, Diodati carried him to the bishop of Durham, Dr Morton, and gave that learned bishop such a character of Mr Bedell, that he presently took particular care to have him provided for." He also told him how highly he had been esteemed and valued by Father Paulo, upon which the bishop treated him with the most marked attention and kindness.

In the course of events, apparently slight circumstances often lead to the most important results; and occurrences which appear accidental are either brought about, or overruled by that Hand which shapes all human events and destinies, "rough-hew them as we will." Bedell's name and character were now brought into light, and became known and appreciated even in Ireland. The provostship of Trinity College, Dublin, becoming vacant in 1626, the fellows of the College, acting under the advice of archbishop Usher, unanimously invited him to fill that important office, while, at the same time, they forwarded an address to the king, entreating him to lay his commands on Bedell to accept of the situation. Anxious to impress the king with a sense of his full competency to the office, they wrote to Sir Henry Wotton, whose chaplain Bedell had been when he was ambassador at Venice, to request he might add his testimony to his high character, zeal, and learning. The following is the letter written by Sir Henry on the occasion, who would probably earlier have exerted his energies for the promotion of his friend, had his own influence at court been great; but while filling the office of ambassador, Sir Henry had been too lavish in his expenditure, and had lived to experience how quickly personal influence declines, when it becomes in any way needful to the advancement of its possessor:—

"May it please your most gracious majesty.

"Having been informed, that certain persons have, by the good wishes of the archbishop of Ardmagh, been directed hither with a most humble petition unto your majesty, that you will be pleased to make Mr William Bedell, (now resident upon a small benefice in Suffolk,) governor of your college at Dublin, for the good of that society; and myself being required to render unto your majesty some testimony of the said William Bedell, who was long my chaplain at Venice, in the time of my employment there; I am bound in all conscience and truth, (so far as your majesty will accept of my poor judgment,) to affirm of him, that I think hardly a fitter man could have been propounded to your majesty in your whole kingdom, for singular erudition and piety, conformity to the rites of the church, and zeal to advance the cause of God: wherein his travels abroad were not obscure in the time of the excommunication of the Venetians. For, may it please your majesty to know, that this is the man whom Padre

Paulo took (I may say) into his very soul, with whom he did communicate the inwardest thoughts of his heart; from whom he professed to have received more knowledge in all divinity, both scholastical and positive, than from any that he had practised in his days, of which all the passages were well known unto the king, your father, of blessed memory. And so, with your majesty's good favour, I will end this needless office; for the general fame of his learning, his life, and christian temper, and those religious labours which himself hath dedicated to your majesty, do better describe him than I am able.

"Your majesty's

"Most humble and faithful servant,

"H. WOTTON."

On this communication being made to Bedell, he expressed, says Burnet, "so much both of true philosophy and real christianity in the answer, that he made to so honourable an offer, that I will not undertake to give it otherwise than in his own words, taken from a letter which he writ to one that had been employed to deal with him in this matter." The original of this letter, and of many others inserted in this memoir, were found, according to Burnet's statement, among the papers of the lord primate Usher, by Dr Parre, and given to Burnet for publication. The letter is as follows:—

"SIR,

"With my hearty commendations remembered, I have this day received both your letters, dated the second of this month; I thank you for your care and diligence in this matter. For answer whereof, although I could have desired so much respite, as to have conferred with some of my friends, such as possibly do know the condition of that place better than I do, and my insufficiency better than my lord primate; yet, since that I perceive by both your letters, the matter requires a speedy and present answer, thus I stand: I am married, and have three children; therefore if the place requires a single man, the business is at an end. I have no want, I thank my God, of any thing necessary for this life; I have a competent living of above a hundred pounds a year, in a good air and seat, with a very convenient house, near to my friends, a little parish, not exceeding the compass of my weak voice. I have often heard it, that changing seldom brings the better; especially to those that are well. And I see well that my wife, (though resolving, as she ought, to be contented with whatsoever God shall appoint,) had rather continue with her friends in her native country, than put herself into the hazard of the seas, and a foreign land, with many casualties in travel, which she perhaps out of fear apprehends more than there is cause.

"All these reasons I have, if I consult with flesh and blood, which move me rather to reject this offer; (yet with all humble and dutiful thanks to my lord primate for his mind and good opinion of me.) On the other side, I consider the end wherefore I came into the world, and the business of a subject to our Lord Jesus Christ, of a minister of the gospel, of a good patriot, and of an honest man. If I may be of any better use to my country, to God's church, or of any

better service to our common master, I must close mine eyes against all private respects; and if God call me, I must answer, Here I am. For my part, therefore, I will not stir one foot, or lift up my finger for or against this motion; but if it proceed from the Lord, that is, if those whom it concerns there, do procure those who may command me here, to send me thither, I shall obey, if it were not only to go into Ireland, but into Virginia; yea, though I were not only to meet with troubles, dangers, and difficulties, but death itself in the performance. Sir, I have, as plainly as I can, showed you my mind; desiring you, with my humble service, to represent it to my reverend good lord, my lord primate. And God Almighty direct this affair to the glory of his holy name, and have you in his merciful protection. So I rest,

“Your loving friend,
“WILL. BEDELL.”

FROM BURY, *March 6, 1626.*

The king, having ascertained his perfect fitness for the office, complied with the request of the primate and fellows of the college, and commanded him immediately to make arrangements for accepting it. Bedell complied with cheerfulness and alacrity, feeling confident that this new path of duty was opened to him by a higher hand, and with childlike simplicity he followed upon the course thus indicated to him. He removed to Ireland, in the first instance, alone, leaving his wife and children under the protection of her friends, until he could provide a residence for their reception. On his arrival in Dublin, he at once commenced a close and accurate study of the statutes, and established regulations of the college, resolving, with his characteristic good sense and caution, to take no step whatever respecting the existing abuses, until he had fully ascertained the legitimate grounds on which they could be reformed, and the utmost limits to which his own authority might extend. During this period of necessarily suspended action, many rash and perhaps interested persons came to the conclusion that he was incompetent to the office, and whispered abroad that, however amiable and learned he might be, he was indolent, abstracted, and totally devoid of the energy and decision of character required in such a position. These insidious whispers were at length conveyed to the ear of the primate, who began to think that possibly the long period he had passed in seclusion and study, might in some degree have incapacitated him for the duties of a more practical life. His, however, was a mind incapable of forming a hasty or unjust judgment, and some months after, when Bedell returned to England for the purpose of removing his family, he having obtained some knowledge of the general prejudice that existed against him, which he even feared had slightly tinged the mind of Usher, thought seriously of resigning his new preferment, and returning to his peaceful benefice in Suffolk. He, however, about this period, received so kind a letter from the primate, that it drew from him the following answer:—“Touching my return, I do thankfully accept your grace’s exhortation, advising me to have faith in God, and not to consult with flesh and blood, nor have mind of this country. Now, I would to

God that your grace could look into my heart, and see how little I fear lack of provision, or pass upon any outward thing in this world. My chief fear, in truth was, and is, lest I should be unfit and unprofitable in that place; in which case, if I might have a lawful and honest retreat, I think no wise man could blame me to retain it; especially, having understood that your grace, whose authority I chiefly followed at the first, did, from your own judgment, and that of other wise men, so truly pronounce of me, that I was a weak man. Now that I have received your letters, so full of life and encouragement, it puts some life in me. For sure it cannot agree with that goodness and ingenuity of yours, praised among all God's graces in you, by those that know you, to write one thing to me, and to speak another thing to others of me, or to go about to beguile my simplicity with fair words, laying in the mean while a net for my feet, especially sith my weakness shall in truth redound to the blaming of your own discretion in bringing me thither." He accordingly at once resigned his English preferment, and removed with his family to Dublin. Immediately on his settlement there, he applied himself vigorously to the great work of reformation. He corrected various abuses, established new regulations, and was so firm in enforcing their performance, that it was quickly acknowledged he was of all others the most suited to fill that high and responsible office. *His* ideas of duty were higher still, and his first object was to awaken religious convictions amongst the students, and to instruct them in right principles. He catechised the various classes once each week, and preached every Sunday, though not obliged to do so, that he might the more effectually impress and enforce the great truths which so entirely swayed his own mind, and guided every word and action. He thought so highly of the body of divinity compressed into the Church Catechism, that he divided it into fifty-two parts, one for every Sunday, and gave such clear expositions of it, mixed with so much interesting speculative and practical matter, that many took notes of them at the time, and years after copies of them were sought for with the greatest anxiety. His sermons were remarkable for such clear and simple statements, that the youngest and most unlearned could comprehend them, while the deeply informed never failed to derive from them interest and instruction. After continuing for about two years in the performance of these anxious and arduous duties, his early discriminating and energetic friend, Sir Thomas Jermyn, obtained for him a nomination to the two vacant bishoprics of Kilmore and Ardagh, which adjoined each other, in the province of Ulster; but from the neglect and mismanagement of the preceding bishops, their revenues were in so unproductive a state, that they were scarcely capable of supporting a bishop who was resolved not to supply himself by base and indirect means, such as, at that period, were too generally resorted to. In the letter of the king, sanctioning his promotion, he alludes, in the following manner, to his eminent services in the college:—"And as we were pleased, by our former gracious letters, to establish the said William Bedell, by our royal authority, in the provostship of the said college of the blessed Trinity, near Dublin, where, we are informed, that by his care and good government, there have been wrought great reformation, to our

singular contentment; so we purpose to continue our care of that society, being the principal nursery of religion and learning in that our realm; and to recommend unto the college some such person from whom we may expect the like worthy effects for their good, as we and they have found from Mr Bedell."

His new course of life opened to him new sources of usefulness, and duties of a far more difficult and dangerous nature than any he had yet been called upon to perform; but his efforts rose with the exigencies, and at fifty-nine he encountered and overcome obstacles that would have seemed insuperable to any who relied on their own unassisted strength. His ideas of the duties of a bishop were of a very exalted kind, approaching, according to the statements of Burnet, the occupation of an angel, considering that he was called upon to divide his time "as much as could consist with the frailties and necessities of a body made of flesh and blood, as those glorious spirits do, between the beholding the face of their Father which is in heaven, and the ministering to the heirs of salvation. He considered the bishop's office made him the shepherd of the inferior shepherds, if not of the whole diocese; and, therefore, he resolved to spare himself in nothing, by which he might advance the interest of religion among them; and he thought it a disingenuous thing to vouch antiquity for the authority and dignity of that function, and not at the same time to express those virtues and practices that made it so venerable among them."*

He found his diocese in a state of the greatest disorder and neglect, both as it concerned morals and temporalities. His revenues were exhausted by dilapidations—the most sacred things had been exposed to sale—one of his cathedrals had fallen to the ground for want of repair—and the livings were in general held by Englishmen, who did not understand the language of the country, so that the people were literally as sheep wanting a shepherd. His own letter to archbishop Laud, will, however, best explain the melancholy position of affairs, and the enormous difficulties with which he had to cope, in effecting any species of reformation.

"Right reverend Father, my honourable good Lord,

"Since my coming to this place, which was a little before Michaelmas, (till which time, the settling of the state of the college, and my Lord Primate's visitation, deferred my consecration,) I have not been unmindful of your lordship's commands to advertise you, as my experience should inform me, of the state of the church, which I shall now the better do, because I have been about my dioceses, and can set down, out of my knowledge and view what I shall relate: and shortly to speak much ill matter in a few words, it is very miserable. The cathedral church of Ardagh, one of the most ancient in Ireland, and said to be built by Saint Patrick, together with the bishop's house there, down to the ground. The church here, built, but without bell or steeple, font or chalice. The parish churches all in a manner ruined, and unroofed, and unrepaired. The people, saving a few British planters here and there, which are not the tenth part of the

* Burnet.

remnant, obstinate recusants. A popish clergy more numerous by far than we, in full exercise of all jurisdiction ecclesiastical, by their vicar-general and officials; who are so confident as they excommunicate those that come to our courts, even in matrimonial causes: which affront hath been offered myself by the popish primate's vicar-general; for which I have begun a process against him. The primate himself lives in my parish, within two miles of my house; the bishop in another part of my diocese further off. Every parish hath its priest; and some two or three a-piece; and so their mass-houses also; in some places mass is said in the churches. Fryers there are in divers places, who go about, though not in their habit, and by their importunate begging impoverish the people, who indeed are generally very poor, as from that cause, so from their paying double tythes to their own clergy and ours, from the dearth of corn, and the death of cattle, these late years, with their contributions to their soldiers and their agents: and which forget not to reckon among other causes, the oppression of the court ecclesiastical, which in very truth, my lord, I cannot excuse, and do seek to reform. For my own, there are seven or eight ministers of good sufficiency; and, which is no small cause of the continuance of the people in popery still, English, which have not the tongue of the people, nor can perform any divine offices, or converse with them; and which hold, many of them two or three, four or more vicarages a-piece; even the clerkships themselves are in like manner conferred upon the English; and sometimes two or three or more upon one man, and ordinarily bought and sold, or let to farm. His majesty is now with the greatest part of this country, as to their hearts and consciences, king but at the pope's discretion.

"WILL. KILMORE AND ARDAGH."

Kilmore, April 1st, 1630.

In correcting the numerous abuses which existed, Bedell was well aware that he must meet opposition, hinderance, and even some opprobrium; but he had previously "sat down and counted the cost," and was therefore ready for the combat, and prepared to meet its consequences. Unlike, however, many sincere and zealous advocates of the truth who are carried on and aided through their difficult and obstructed course by a natural impetuosity of character, and heat of temperament, Bedell had no stimulus but Christian principle, no defence but the sword of the Spirit, and the shield of faith; everything was done in the spirit of meekness and Christian forbearance; for to his faith he added patience, and where influence and example could effect his object he preferred them to the exercise of his official authority. A remarkable instance of this presents itself in one of his first and most important acts, the abolishing of pluralities. Convinced that this pernicious practice was equally opposed to the vows at ordination, by which they were pledged to instruct and feed with the bread of life, the flock committed to their care, and also to the early practice of the church, he called a meeting of his clergy, and in a sermon, with which he opened it, he explained to them his own views and convictions upon the subject, with a clearness and a force from which there was no appeal. He detailed to them, both from Scripture and anti-

quity, the duties of the ministerial office, the responsibilities in which it was involved, and the awful account they would have to render up. He made it clear that such a practice was early repudiated by the church; for at the fourth general council at Chalcedon, when it was declared that such an error had crept in, and that pastors removed from one diocese to another, retaining a portion in the first, it was solemnly denounced by the council, and decreed that such transgressors should restore all they had got from the church which they had left, and should be degraded, if they refused to submit to this regulation; he showed them that the obligation was personal and could not be delegated, for the mere purpose of enjoying additional emoluments; and exhorted them instantly to reform such an intolerable abuse, which had brought such scandal upon the church, and endangered both their own souls, and the souls of those committed to their trust. He told them that he would demand no sacrifice from them that he was not prepared to make himself, and consequently that he had come to the resolution of parting with one of his bishoprics; though, as was before stated, the joint revenue was insufficient to meet his own moderate expenses. It should also be remembered that he was perfectly competent to discharge the duties of both sees, as well from their contiguity as from their limited extent; but he knew too well the importance of the sanction that example gives to precept, to lose the opportunity of thus enforcing it. He accordingly resigned Ardagh to Dr Richardson, when the entire of his clergy, with the solitary exception of the dean, followed his example, and at once laid down their pluralities. The dean quickly exchanged his preferment, being unable to endure the silent rebuke conveyed by the conduct of the bishop and the remaining clergy. Anxious however to retain or obtain some of the lesser livings in that diocese, he gave the bishop much annoyance, and even appears for a time to have prejudiced the mind of Usher on the subject. This is indicated in a long and interesting letter written by Bedell to the primate, from which we shall make some extracts.

"Most reverend father, my good and honourable lord,

"I cannot easily express what contentment I received at my late being with your grace at Termonseckin. There had nothing happened to me, I will not say since I came into Ireland, but as far as I can call to remembrance, in my whole life, which did so affect me in this kind as the hazard of your good opinion. For, loving and honouring you in truth (for the truth's sake, which is in us, and shall abide with us for ever) without any private interest, and receiving so unlooked-for a blow from your own hand (I expected should have tenderly applied some remedy to me, being smitten by others) I had not present the defences of reason and grace. And although I knew it to be a fault in myself, since in the performance of our duties, the judgment of our Master even alone ought to suffice to us; yet I could not be so much master of mine affections as to cast out this weakness. But blessed be God, who, as I began to say, at my being with you refreshed my spirit by your kind renewing and confirming your love to me. And all humble thanks to you, that gave me place to make my

defence, and took upon you the cognisance of mine innocency. And as for mine accuser (whose hatred I have incurred only by not giving way to his covetous desire of heaping living upon living, to the evident damage, not only of other souls committed to him, but of his own) truly I am glad and do give God thanks that this malignity, which a while masked itself in the pretence of friendship, hath at last discovered itself by public opposition. It hath not, and I hope it shall not be in his power to hurt me at all; he hath rather shamed himself, and, although his high heart cannot give his tongue leave to acknowledge his folly, his understanding is not so weak and blind as not to see it. Whom I could be very well content to leave to taste the fruit of it also, without being further troublesome to your Grace, save that I do not despair but your Grace's authority will pull him out of the snare of Satan, whose instrument he hath been to cross the work of God, and give me more occasion of joy by his amendment than I had grief by his perversion and opposition."

He then states that in an early stage of the business, before the dean had outraged decency by preaching against the bishop, and publicly aspersing his jurisdiction—for his character was unassailable—that as the bishop was at the Lord's table beginning the service of the communion before sermon, he came in, and after the sermon was done, those that communicated not being departed, he stood forth and said, "That whereas the Book of Common Prayer requires, that before the Lord's supper, if there be any variance or breach of charity, there should be reconciliation: this was much more between ministers: and because they all knew that there had been some difference between me and him, he did profess that he bare me no malice nor hatred, and if he had offended me he was sorry. I answered that he had good reason to be sorry, considering how he had behaved himself. For my part I bare him no malice, and if it were in my power, would not make so much as his finger ache. Grieved I had been that he, in whom I knew there were so many good parts, would become an instrument to oppose the work of God, which I was assured he had called me to. This was all that passed. He offered himself to the Lord's board, and I gave him the communion. After dinner he preached out of 1 John iv. 10. "And this commandment have we from him, that he that loveth God, love his brother also." Notwithstanding all this outward show, the dean still laboured to secure his own objects, and to obtain the living of Kildromfarten. In the same letter he says, "Mr Hilton made a motion to me that when he had in his hands sufficient to make the benefice of Kildromfarten void, if I would bestow it upon Mr Dean, he would do so; otherwise it should remain *in statu*. I answered with profession of my love and good opinion of Mr Dean, whereof I showed the reasons. I added, I did not know the place, nor the people, but if they were mere Irish, I did not see how Mr Dean should discharge the duty of a minister to them. This motion was seconded by your Grace; but so as I easily conceived, that being solicited by your old servant, you could do no less than you did: and notwithstanding, the lecture he promised your Grace should be read to me in the matter of collations, would not be

displeased, if I did as became me, according to my conscience, and in conformity to your former motion for Mr Crian.* Mr Dean after pressed me, that, if without my concurrence your Grace would confer that living upon him, I would not be against it; which I promised, but heard no more of it till about April last.”

* * * * *

“About mid April he brought me a presentation to Kildromfarten, under the broad seal. I could do no less but signify to the incumbent, who came to me and maintained his title, requiring me not to admit. Whereupon I returned the presentation, indorsing the reason of my refusal; and being then occasioned to write to the Lords Justices, I signified what I thought of these pluralities, in a time when we are so far overmatched in number by the adverse part.† This passed on till the visitation, wherein Mr Dean showed himself in his colours. When the vicar of Kildromfarten was called, he said he was vicar, but would exhibit no title.” He also adds, that during the contest, or apparent contest, between the two incumbents, the curate remained unpaid, besides he ascertained that a simoniacal compact existed between them, by which it was arranged that the profits of the year should revert to the first incumbent. These circumstances induced Bedell to sequester the living. Then followed the insolent aspersions, oppositions, and protestations of the dean against the bishop’s authority, with haughty assumptions of his own, calling himself the head of the chapter, while the canon law gives that title to the bishop.”

One of Bedell’s objects in so strenuously opposing pluralities, was to compel his clergy to reside in their parishes; but this was in many instances attended with great difficulty, in consequence of the reprehensible negligence of the commissioners, who had been appointed on the reduction of Ulster after Tyrone’s rebellion, to assign glebe-lands to the clergy: these appear to have been allotted at random; for in a large proportion of instances they were out of the parish, and frequently divided into small portions in different directions. To remedy this, the bishop who had a portion of land in every parish, resolved to make an exchange, wherever his own was more conveniently situated for the clergyman; and he applied to Sir Thomas Wentworth, the lord-lieutenant, to have commissioners appointed, that all might be fairly and satisfactorily arranged.

On the arrival of the lord-lieutenant (afterwards earl of Strafford) in Ireland, a petition was sent up by the county of Cavan, to which the bishop’s name was annexed, making some complaints respecting the military in that district, and suggesting regulations that might prevent the recurrence of the evils complained of. In a country so prone to rebellion as Ireland was at that period, any such suggestions were naturally received with doubt and suspicion, and Wentworth conceived so strong and unjust a prejudice against the bishop (which perhaps was increased by his not coming to Dublin, as all the other bishops did, to congratulate him on his arrival), that whenever any

* Mr Crian was a converted friar specially recommended to him by the primate, and whom Bedell had pledged himself to support and provide for.

† In the dioceses of Kilmore and Ardagh there was a proportion of sixty-six Roman catholic priests to thirty-two protestant ministers.

commission was brought to him bearing the bishop's signature, he indignantly dashed it out with his own pen. In the following letter, written to the archbishop of Canterbury about this period, Bedell alludes to the false impression that existed against him, and adduces some of the strongest and most convincing facts, (if such were necessary,) to prove his innocence.

"Right honourable, my very good Lord,

"In the midst of these thoughts, I have been advertised from an honourable friend in England, that I am accused to his majesty to have opposed his service; and that my hand with two other bishops' only, was to a writing touching the money to be levied on the papists for maintenance of the men of war. Indeed, if I should have had such an intention, this had been not only to oppose the service of his majesty, but to expose with the public peace mine own neck to the skeans of the Romish cut-throats. I that knew that in this kingdom of his majesty's, the pope hath another kingdom far greater in number, and as I have heretofore signified to the lords justices and council, (which is also since justified by themselves in print), constantly guided and directed by the order of the new congregation De Propaganda Fide, lately created at Rome, transmitted by the means of the pope's nuncios residing at Brussels or Paris, that the pope hath here a clergy, if I may guess by my own diocese, double in number to us, the heads whereof are by corporal oath bound to him, to maintain him and his regalities, *contra omnem hominem*, and to execute his mandates to the uttermost of their forces; which accordingly they do, stiling themselves in print, *Ego N. Dei, et Apostolicæ sedis gratia Episcopus Fermien et Ossorien*. I that knew there is in the kingdom for the moulding of the people to the pope's obedience, a rabble of irregular regulars, commonly younger brothers of good houses, who are grown to that insolency, as to advance themselves to be members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, in better ranks than priests, in so much that the censure of the Sorbon is fain to be implored to curb them, which yet is called in again; so tender is the pope of his own creatures. I that knew that his holiness hath erected a new university in Dublin, to confront his majesty's college there, and to breed the youth of the kingdom to his devotion, of which university one Paul Harris, the author of that infamous libel which was put forth in print against my lord Armach's wansted sermon, stileth himself in print to be dean: I that knew and have given advertisement to the state, that these regulars dare erect new fryeries in the country, since the dissolving of these in the city; that they have brought the people to such a sottish senselessness as they care not to learn the commandments as God himself spake and writ them; but they flock in great numbers to the preaching of new superstitious and detestable doctrines, such as their own priests are ashamed of; and at all those they levy collections, three, four, five, or six pounds at a sermon. Shortly, I that knew that those regulars, and this clergy have at a general meeting like to a synod, as themselves stile it, decreed that it is not lawful to take an oath of allegiance; and if they be constant to their own doctrine, do account his majesty in their hearts to be king, but at the pope's

discretion. In this state of this kingdom to think the bridle of the army may be taken away, should be the thought not of a brain-sick, but of a brainless man,

Your lordship's in all duty,
WILL. KILMORE."

The day of our deliverance from the }
Popish powder plot, Anno 1633. }

He wrote also to his friend Sir Thomas Jermyn, on the subject; and he exerted himself so strenuously to have the true state of things brought before the lord-lieutenant, who though in some instances stern and uncompromising, was of too noble a nature to resist conviction, or refuse to retract an error, that when at length the bishop went to town to express his congratulations, he received him with much courtesy, and ever after treated him with the marked kindness to which his character so well entitled him.

On the clergy of Cavan resigning their pluralities, many vacancies occurred, and the bishop exercised the most vigilant care in supplying the diocese with conscientious and competent ministers. In his examinations before ordination, he was so scrupulously cautious, that he might "lay hands suddenly on no man," that he held these examinations publicly in the presence of all his clergy, inviting them to put any important question to the candidate that he might have omitted, and requiring their approbation and concurrence before he admitted any to holy orders. His considering it necessary to give an examination of two hours length, to Mr Thomas Price, who was a senior fellow of the college when he was provost, and who afterwards became his archdeacon, and subsequently archbishop of Cashel, is a strong proof of his particularity on this subject, neither would he confer the order of presbyter on any person under a year and a half after his obtaining deacon's orders. "From the day (says one of his biographers) that he set them apart to be preachers of the gospel, he watched over them with an anxious eye, exciting them to a becoming deportment and habits, dealing with them all in the spirit of meekness, behaving himself kindly and gently towards the infirmities of those whose general conduct was worthy of respect, helping them out of their troubles with the most tender care and compassion, and living with them on terms of friendly intercourse." His address on conferring upon them any preferment was this, "adjuring you in the Lord, and enjoining you by virtue of that obedience which you owe to the Great Shepherd, diligently to feed his flock committed to your care, which he purchased with his own blood—to instruct them in the catholic faith, and perform divine offices in a language understood by the people; and above all things, to show yourself a pattern to believers, in good works, so that the adversaries may be put to shame, when they find nothing for which they can reproach you."

Some years after his coming to the diocese, he called together a General Assembly of his clergy, and laid before them a code of regulations calculated to benefit the whole diocese, and to stimulate the spiritual efforts of the clergy. He also arranged that they should meet annually as a synod, and issue whatever decrees they should find

necessary. Some persons objecting to such an assembly, as illegal, Usher said they had best not interfere with any of the arrangements of the bishop, "lest he should be provoked to say more for himself than his enemies could say against him." Some decrees of this synod bear the date of Sept., 1638. The improvement in his diocese, and in the general conduct and demeanour of his clergy was quickly perceptible, and he was early made sensible of the necessity of it, by the observation of an Irishman, who once said to him in open court, "that the king's priests were as bad as the pope's priests," the latter being remarkable, at that period, not only for drunkenness, but every sort of profligacy. His anxiety for his clergy extended even to their temporalities; for, finding that they were subjected to enormous fees on their induction to a living, he reduced the various documents then in use, into one instrument, which he wrote with his own hand.

Having succeeded in influencing his clergy to resign their pluralities, and enforcing their residence in their various parishes, one solitary instance remained of an eccentric and refractory individual, of the name of Johnstone, who refused to comply. He was a man of little education, but great natural talent, particularly in the scientific line, and had been employed by the lord-lieutenant as an engineer, to superintend some great buildings he erected in the county of Wicklow. Bedell, who though firm and uncompromising in the cause of truth or practice of duty, was more skilled in the turning away of wrath than in the provoking it, planned an employment for him, by which he thought his peculiar talents might be brought into action, and the church and world benefited. What he proposed was, that he should compose a universal character, or set of signs, that might be comprehended by all nations, in the same manner that arithmetical and mathematical figures are understood. The bishop drew up for him the scheme of the entire work, and it is said that he had brought it to such a degree of perfection, as to have had it actually put to press, when the rebellion broke out, and put a stop to its completion.

Such dreams have frequently amused the leisure of the ingenious; but we cannot help believing that some attention to the laws of human thought and language, and to the actual principles of communication by signs, would have the effect of putting an end to the delusion of a universal language. A universal convention, affecting some special system of things or ideas, generally received, and liable to no material variation, is an indispensable prerequisite. The rigid precision of quantity affords such an advantage: the instrumental adaptations of musical sound involve the same principle; but some precise law of quantity, or some technical distinction, by which ideas become themselves fixed, must be ever essential to such an invention. Should these elementary difficulties be surmounted, still, in the application, there would arise others not less formidable to be met in the actual diversities of national habits, of thought, experience, and action, to say nothing of the large and formidable class of difficulties in the mere contrivance itself, arising from the laws of ideagraphy. On this point, the reader will find much profound, as well as curious fact and disquisition, in the first volume of Dr Wall's work on the orthography of the Jews, and on the alphabetic writing of the Egyptians.

Among the many abuses existing in the diocese, the management, or rather mismanagement, of the ecclesiastical court appears to have been the most flagrant, while the correction and remodelling of it subjected the bishop to more opposition and annoyance than any of his previous reforms. He was, however, prepared for opposition, and firm in his resolution to proceed. "He found this court," says Burnet, that sat in his name, "an entire abuse. It was managed by a chancellor, that had bought his place from his predecessor, and so thought he had a right to all the profits that he could raise out of it, and the whole business of the court seemed to be nothing but extortion and oppression; for it is an old observation, that men who buy justice will also sell it. Bribes went about, almost barefaced, and the exchange they made of penance for money was the worst sort of simony; being in effect the same abuse which gave the world such a scandal when it was so indecently practised in the court of Rome, and opened the way for the reformation." After due consideration, the bishop resolved to sit as judge himself in the court that bore his name, and acted on his authority. He convened a competent number of his clergy to sit there with him, and after hearing the causes, and obtaining their advice and opinion, gave sentence. Numerous causes were thus quickly disposed of, and general satisfaction given, with the exception of the offending officers of the court. The lay chancellor brought a suit against the bishop into chancery, for invading his office, but the other bishops supported him in the step he had taken, and promised to stand by him in the contest. The bishop desired to plead his own cause, but this was not permitted, so he drew up a most able statement, but not sufficiently powerful to influence the decision of the courts. The chancellor was accordingly confirmed in his position, and the bishop cast in a hundred pounds' costs. But lord chancellor Bolton admitted afterwards to the bishop, when he accused him of having passed an unjust decree, that as his Father had left him only a register's place, he thought he was bound to support those courts, which he saw would be ruined, if the course he took had not been checked. It is probable that the hand accustomed to receive bribes was not slack in administering them; and there can be no want of charity in such a surmise, when Bolton himself so unblushingly admitted that he had perverted judgment and justice from private and personal considerations.*

The other bishops who had promised him their support, failed him in the hour of need, and even the primate told him, "the tide went so high, that he could assist him no more." The bishop, however, having put his hand to the plough, resolved not to look back; and, when he returned home, continued to sit in his courts as usual, with-

* We can readily understand the corruptness of the judge, yet doubt the sincerity of the admission. We have already, in our memoir of Usher, stated our view as to the real equity of this case, when looked on according to the analogy of our law, and the constitution of our courts; but it was a period when lax notions prevailed in every department of the administration. A refined system of law had not yet been sufficiently disentangled from notions of discretionary power; but in its applications to a rude and simple nation, there was added temptation and immunity for all abuse. The kind friend to whom we are indebted for this memoir, has rightly thought fit to put forward, without question, Bedell's own grounds of action, which are honourable to him, alike as a Christian and a man.

out receiving any molestation from the chancellor, who appointed a surrogate, to whom he gave strict orders "to be in all things observant of the bishop, and obedient to him." This same chancellor, (Mr Cook,) in speaking of him, some years after, said, "that he thought there was not such a man on the face of the earth as bishop Bedell was; that he was too hard for all the civilians in Ireland; and that if he had not been borne down by mere force, he had overthrown the consistorial courts, and had recovered the episcopal jurisdiction out of the chancellor's hands." It was supposed that after the adverse termination of the trial, Cook was influenced by the authorities in Dublin to take no farther steps, for he did not even apply for the hundred pounds' costs that had been awarded him. The bishop abolished most of the fees connected with the court, and when criminals, or "scandalous persons," were brought to him to be censured, while he showed them the enormity of their offence, he conveyed his reproof with such parental tenderness, that he touched the single uncorrupted spot in the human heart,* that which is acted upon by *kindness*, and the offender frequently became a penitent. Many of the Irish priests were brought before him on those occasions, and his exhortations to them often produced subsequent results that could scarcely have been calculated on. The bishop felt great pity for the native Irish, who were in a state of the most profound darkness, and yet, from their avidity in receiving spiritual instruction, seemed actually to be hungering and thirsting after righteousness, while their priests could do little more than read their offices, without understanding them; he therefore determined to direct his attention to their particular instruction, that they might be no longer "blind leaders of the blind." He was successful in many instances; and provided those, of whose conversion he was well assured, with benefices. He had also a short catechism printed both in English and Irish, with prayers and portions of scripture, for the benefit of the young and the ignorant; and was most particular that those he ordained for the ministry should understand the native language. But the object he had most at heart, of all others, was the translation of the Scriptures into Irish; and for the accomplishment of this, he secured, by the advice of the primate, the services of a person of the name of King, who had been converted many years before, and was considered the best Irish scholar of his day. He was a poet as well as a prose writer, and though seventy years of age, he entered on the undertaking with zeal and industry; and the bishop, who formed a high idea of his character and capabilities of doing good, ordained him, and gave him a benefice. Being unable to meet with any of the native Irish that understood either Greek or Hebrew, and dissatisfied with a translation from the English version, this apostolic bishop, who thought only of "spending and being spent" in his master's service, resolved on learning the Irish language himself, and became such a proficient, that he was enabled to compose a grammar for the use of other students. As the work advanced, he undertook the revision of it, and every day, after either dinner or supper, he compared a chapter of the Irish translation with the Eng-

* Chalmers.

lish, and then compared the latter with the Hebrew, and the Seventy Interpreters, or with Diodati's Italian translation, of which he thought very highly; and he corrected the Irish wherever he found the English translation in error, so that, in fact, it is the most perfect of the two. A few years completed the translation, and the bishop was preparing to get it printed at his own expense, when a very unexpected obstacle arose to the performance of this good work.

Some persons, interested in keeping the population of the country in a state of ignorance and barbarism, and little valuing the loss of souls, spread abroad an impression that the translator was a weak and ignorant man, and incompetent to the work; and artfully infused this impression among a high and influential circle, at the head of which were lord Strafford and the archbishop of Canterbury, neither of whom were competent, from their ignorance of Irish, to put the work to the only fair test, that of comparison with originals. The consequence was the suspension of the work, and a most tyrannical abuse of power towards its unoffending translator. A young man of the name of Baily pretended that the benefice which the bishop had given to King had lapsed, and obtained a broad seal for it, while the real incumbent was ejected, fined, and imprisoned. The bishop was indignant at such oppressive and unjustifiable proceedings, and expressed his opinion of them in a letter to the lord deputy, of which the following is a portion. After referring lord Strafford to the primate, the bishop of Meath, lord Dillon, and Sir James Ware, as to the talent and competency of Mr King, he refers him to the work itself, and entreats that it may be "*examined rigoroso examine,*" and desires that he may (as old Sophocles accused of dotage) be absolved for the sufficiency of the work. He then states, that because Mr King did not appear to answer a citation, which by law he was not bound to do, he was deprived of his ministry and living, fined a hundred pounds, decreed to be attached, and imprisoned; "haled by the head and feet to horseback, and brought to Dublin, where he hath been kept and continued under arrest these four or five months. * * * *

My lord, if I understand what is right, divine, or human, these be wrongs upon wrongs; which, if they reached only to Mr King's person, were of less consideration; but when, through his side, that great work, the translation of God's book, so necessary for both his majesty's kingdoms, is mortally wounded, pardon me, (I beseech your lordship,) if I be sensible of it. I omit to consider what feast our adversaries make of our rewarding him thus for that good service; or what this example will avail to the alluring of others to conformity. What should your lordship have gained if he had died, (as it was almost a miracle he did not,) under arrest, and had been deprived of living, liberty, and life. God hath reprieved him, and given your lordship means, upon right information, to remedy with one word all inconveniences. For conclusion, (good my lord,) give me leave a little to apply the parable of Nathan to king David to this purpose:—If the wayfaring man, that is come to us, (for such he is, having never yet been settled in one place,) have so sharp a stomach that he must be provided for with pluralities, sith there are herds and flocks plenty; suffer him not, I beseech you, under the colour of the king's name, to take

the cosset ewe of a poor man, to satisfy his ravenous appetite. So I beseech the heavenly Physician to give your lordship health of soul and body. I rest,

My lord,

Your lordship's most humble servant,
in Christ Jesus,

WILL. KILMORE.

December 1, 1638.

Finding, from the prejudiced state of public opinion, that it would be useless to attempt the publication at that time, the bishop determined to set up a press at his own house, and have it printed there. The breaking out of the rebellion, however, prevented his putting this project into execution; and during its progress the bishop "fought his good fight, and finished his course." The manuscript was, however, providentially preserved from the general devastation, and was printed many years afterwards at the expense of the hon. Robert Boyle. The interest the Irish take in hearing the glad tidings in their native language is not less at the present day than it was in that day when Mr Cloogy, the bishop's chaplain, says, "I have seen many of them express as much joy at the reading of a psalm, or of a chapter in the New Testament, in the Irish tongue, as was discovered by the people in the captivity, when Ezra read the law unto them."

The bishop, in the interval that occurred before the rebellion, translated into the Irish language, and printed in his own press, some of Leo's sermons, three of the homilies on the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, with a new edition of his catechism in English and Irish.

The bishop, who possessed the truest christian charity, and practically recognised the bond of love which should unite all the members of Christ's church in one, was a great supporter of Dury's design of reconciling the Lutherans and Calvinists, and, besides writing letters to him frequently on the subject, containing much learning and good advice, he allowed him £20 a-year to assist in defraying the expenses of that negotiation. When a party of the Lutherans came to Dublin, and refused to join in the communion with the church of Ireland, the archbishop of Dublin sent their objections to bishop Bedell, who answered them so satisfactorily, and explained the matter so clearly, that on his answer being sent to the German divines, it gave them such complete satisfaction, that they at once advised their countrymen to join in communion with the Irish church.

The bishop preached twice every Sunday, and when he entered the church, it was evident, from his manner, that he remembered the counsel of the preacher: "keep thy foot when thou goest to the house of God." Before the evening sermon he regularly catechized the younger part of the congregation. His voice is described as having been "low and mournful, the gravity of his countenance and behaviour secured attention, and the instructions which he delivered were excellent and spiritual." He was in the habit of saying, if I may teach and move, I desire to be no better a rhetorician. All he wished to preach, was "Christ and him crucified;" and his directions to his clergy were,

to "know nothing but Him, to put Him before the eyes of God's people; to glory in nothing but Him." Being surrounded with Roman catholics, and making great exertions for their spiritual improvement, he says that perchance his opinion of dealing with the papists themselves differs from the practice of great men in Christ's family—Luther, Calvin, and others. "But yet we must live by rules, not examples; and they were men, who, perhaps by complexion, or otherwise, were given over too much to anger and heat. Sure I am, the rule of the apostle, (2 Tim. ii. 25,) is plain, even of such as are the slaves of satan, that we must with lenity instruct them, waiting, that when out of his snare, they should recover a sound mind to do God's will." In alluding to the exhortation to God's people to *come out of Babylon*, he says, "In this journey let us not trouble and cast stumblingblocks before good people that are ready to come out, or hinder one another with dissensions in matters either inexplicable or unprofitable; let it have some pardon, if some be even so forward in flying from Babylon, as they fear to go back to take their own goods for haste; and let it not be blamed, or uncharitably censured, if some come in the rear, and would leave none of Christ's people behind them: no man reacheth his hand to another whom he would lift out of a ditch, but he stoops to him. Our ends immediate are not the same, but yet they meet in one final intention; the one hates Babylon, and the other loves and pities Christ's people; the one believes the angel that cast the millstone into the sea, in the end of this chapter, with that word, Babylon shall rise no more; the other fears the threatening of our Saviour against such as scandalize any of the little ones believing in Him, that it is better for such a one to have a millstone hanged about his neck, and be cast into the sea himself."

The bishop's domestic habits and conduct were consistent with his public profession, and his devotional exercises, both in private and in his family, were frequent, fervent, and exalted. He prayed with his family three times in the day; early in the morning, before dinner, and after supper; and he never rose from dinner or supper without having a chapter read, which he often expounded. On Sundays, about the observance of which he was very strict, considering "the obligation of the Sabbath moral and perpetual," he was in the habit of reviewing the subjects of his sermons when retired amongst his family, and concluded the day with a psalm of thanksgiving, and with prayer.

He considered forms merely as the scaffolding that supported the building, and consequently most necessary; but in his estimation "Christianity was not so much a system of opinions, as a divine principle renewing and transforming the heart and life;" and he often repeated the saying of Augustine, "I look for fruit, not leaves." He wrote numerous paraphrases and expositions of scripture, which, along with his journal, and a large mass of papers, were lost during the rebellion, while a valuable Hebrew manuscript was preserved by the exertions of one of his Irish converts, and is at present in the library of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. It is a remarkable circumstance that but one of the priests who had conformed to the protestant religion under Bedell's instruction, returned to their ancient faith, and *that one* turned out so infamous a character, that he plainly showed that

he was totally devoid of all religion. The rest shared with Bedell the multiplied horrors of the rebellion of 1641, which was guided and stimulated by the fanatic barbarity of the Spanish priests, who would be satisfied with nothing less than a general massacre, and a universal extirpation of the protestants.

About three years before this fiery persecution commenced, he was tried perhaps still more severely by the breaking up of his domestic happiness, in the death of his valuable and attached wife, who had been "the comfort and support of his manhood and age." He had, however, subsequent cause to rejoice that she had not been spared to share and witness his protracted martyrdom, during those months in which he suffered "a thousand deaths," while he was not *dreading*, but wishing one. Even in this world it is generally made clear (eventually,) to the servant of God, that his trials have been ordained in mercy as well as wisdom, and, in the mean time, he has the comfortable assurance from the word of God, that all things shall work together for his good. His wife, who was a member of the L'Estrange family, is thus eulogized by Burnet: "she was exemplary for her life, humble and modest in her habit and behaviour, and was singular in many excellent qualities, particularly in a very extraordinary reverence that she paid him." The high estimation in which she was held, and her just reputation for piety and virtue, made him choose that verse for the text of her funeral sermon, "A good name is better than precious ointment." He himself preached the sermon, "with such a mixture both of tenderness and moderation, that it touched the whole congregation so much, that there were very few dry eyes in the church. His chaplain says, I never saw the least jar between them in word or deed in all the years I lived with them. The disease of which she died was lethargy. She left him two sons, William and Ambrose, to the eldest of whom he gave a benefice of eighty pounds a-year, in which he laboured zealously and conscientiously, and to his second son, who was not a man of letters, a small estate of £60 a-year, which was the only purchase the bishop made, (having laid up his treasure elsewhere,) and this was the only patrimony that descended to his children. The two younger died early. His charities were great and well bestowed, and they won for him the title of patron and patriarch, by which names he was familiarly spoken of amongst the Irish. Many poor cottagers were supplied from his kitchen; and at Christmas, he was in the habit of collecting his parishioners around him, and letting them sit at his own table. He was loved and venerated in his parish, and even amongst his enemies he seemed to bear a charmed life, for none even amongst the most infuriated ever lifted a weapon against him, and there seemed to be a general feeling that he was to be protected.

The circumstances connected with the rebellion of 1641, have been so often referred to in the course of these memoirs, that it is needless to enter into them further than to say that Ulster having a larger proportion of protestants in it than the other provinces, became a scene of more indiscriminate slaughter, and that the rebels themselves computed they had slain there 154,000. The atrocities, also, with which the slaughter was accompanied, increased its horrors. The popish population

rose in a mass. Men, women, and children, combined in the work of destruction. Their cry was, "spare neither woman nor child. The English are meat for dogs. Let not one drop of English blood be left within the kingdom." Thousands were burned in their houses; multitudes were thrown into the rivers to perish; others were mangled and left to die miserably upon the highways; and some were thrust into dungeons without food; they were buried alive; they were dragged through bogs and thickets by the neck; they were hung up by the arms, and then cut and maimed; they were boiled to death; they were stoned. A few were tempted, by promises of preservation, to imbrue their hands in the blood of their relatives, and then were miserably slain themselves." With these atrocities raging round him, the bishop was still left unmolested. "There seemed," says Burnet, "to be a secret guard set about his house; for though there was nothing but fire, blood, and desolation, about him, yet the Irish were so restrained, as by some hidden power, that they did him no harm for many weeks." He goes on to say that the bishop's house was in no condition to make any resistance, and yet his neighbours, all around, fled to him for shelter and safety. He shared everything he had with them; so that like the primitive Christians, they had all things in common; "and now that they had nothing to expect from men, he invited them all to turn with him to God, and to prepare for that death which they had reason to look for every day; they spent their time in prayers and fasting, which last was like now to be imposed on them by necessity. The rebels expressed their esteem for him in such a manner, that he had reason to ascribe it wholly to that overruling power that stills the raging of the seas, and the tumult of the people; they seemed to be overcome with his exemplary conversation among them, and with the tenderness and charity that he had upon all occasions expressed for them, and they often said, he should be the last Englishman that should be put out of Ireland. He was the only Englishman in the whole county of Cavan that was suffered to live in his own house without disturbance."* Not only his own house, but the out-buildings, the church and church-yard, were full of people, who had been living in affluence, and were now glad of a heap of straw to lie upon, and of some boiled wheat to support nature. The bishop continued to sustain their sinking courage, calling upon them to commit their way unto the Lord, and to trust in Him. On the first Sunday after their being driven from their homes, he preached to them from the Psalm of David, in which he mourns over the rebellion of Absalom, and exhorted them to confidence and hope, exclaiming, "Thou, O Lord, art a shield for me, my glory, and the lifter up of my head. I laid me down and slept: I awaked, for the Lord sustained me. I will not be afraid for ten thousand of the people, that have set themselves against me round about. Salvation belongeth unto the Lord. Thy blessing is on thy people." On successive Sundays, he still continued to preach to them, according to the occurrences of the week; still exhorting them to be of good courage, and calling upon them "to bear the indignation of the Lord, because they had sinned against

* Burnet.

him, until he should plead their cause, and execute judgment for them."

Some of the more moderate of the rebels, in the county of Cavan, seeing most of their expected aids fail them, and that although many of their commanders were good, yet that the majority of their soldiery were at once cruel and cowardly, and consequently incapable of bringing about the days of independence and restitution that they dreamed of, began to fear that the days of retribution might follow, and came to the bishop, entreating him to interpose for them with the lords-justices, and to write a petition, to be signed by themselves, entreating clemency, and the removal of their grievances, and promising to make every possible reparation for the past, and for the outrages of the lower orders. The bishop complied; but the address, though admirably worded, produced no effect on the authorities to whom it was addressed.

About this period, Dr Swiney, the titular bishop of Kilmore, came to Cavan. The bishop was intimate with his brother, whom he had been the means of converting, and ultimately provided for, besides keeping him for a long time at his own house as an inmate. Dr Swiney told the bishop that he would go and live at his house, for the purpose of protecting him, if he wished it; but this the bishop declined in the following courteous letter, which was written in the purest Latin:—

"Reverend Brother,

"I am sensible of your civility in offering to protect me, by your presence in the midst of this tumult, and upon the like occasion I would not be wanting to do the like charitable office for you. But there are many things that hinder me from making use of the favour you now offer me. My house is strait, and there are a great number of miserable people of all ranks, ages, and of both sexes, that have fled hither as to a sanctuary; besides that some of them are sick, among whom my own son is one. But that which is beyond all the rest, is the difference of our way of worship: I do not say of our religion; for I have ever thought and have published it in my writings, that we have one common christian religion: under our present miseries we comfort ourselves with the reading of the holy Scriptures, with daily prayers, which we offer up to God in our vulgar tongue, and with singing of psalms; and since we find so little truth among men, we rely on the truth of God, and on his assistance. These things would offend your company, if not yourself; nor could others be hindered, who would pretend that they came to see you, if you were among us; and under that colour those murderers would break in upon us, who after they had robbed us of all that belonged to us, would in conclusion think they did God good service by our slaughter. For my own part I am resolved to trust in the divine protection. To a christian, and a bishop, that is now almost seventy, no death for the cause of Christ can be bitter: on the contrary, nothing is more desirable. And though I ask nothing for myself alone, yet if you will require the people under an Anathema, not to do any other acts of violence to those whom they have so often beaten, spoiled, and stript,

it will be both acceptable to God, honourable to yourself, and happy to the people if they obey you: but if not, consider that God will remember all that is now done. To whom, Reverend brother, I do heartily commend you.*

"Yours in Christ,
"WILL. KILMORE."

November 2, 1641.

Endorsed thus:—"To my Reverend and loving Brother,
D. SWINEY."

During this season of calamity the bishop seemed to live for every one but himself. He was applied to for advice and instruction by Mrs Dillon, the wife of a son of lord Roscommon's, who was a protestant, and very piously disposed; but who had been inveigled into a marriage with Mr Dillon, under the assurance that he professed the same faith. So far from this he was a bigoted member of the church of Rome, and was also engaged in the present rebellion. He, in addition, insisted on bringing up his own children in the Roman catholic faith, but did not interfere with her religion, or that of her children by her first marriage.

The bishop wrote her a long and consoling letter, containing an epitome of christian duty, with its exalted privileges, and consoling hopes, with advice suited to her peculiar position, wise, moderate, and uncompromising.

The bishop remained unmolested from the 23d of October, the first day of the breaking out of the rebellion, until the 18th of December, when he received a command from the rebels to send away the outcasts he had so long sheltered and comforted. This he of course refused to do; and the rebels then assured him, that much as they loved and respected him (more indeed than all the English whom they had ever seen), they would yet be compelled, in compliance with the strict orders of the council at Kilkenny, to remove him from his house, to which he answered in the language of David—"Here I am, the Lord do unto me as seemeth good unto him; the will of the Lord be done."

He was accordingly seized with his two sons, and Mr Clogy his chaplain, and taken to the ruined castle of Lochoughter, the only place of strength in the county. It was built on a small island about a musket-shot from the shore, while only one small tower remained of the building. The water also had gained so much upon the island, that there was only about a foot of dry land surrounding the tower. They allowed the prisoners to take nothing away with them, while Dr Swiney took possession of all that belonged to the bishop, and quickly converted that house which might almost be called holy, having been so long sanctified by prayer, into a scene of riot, and the most debasing drunkenness, and on the following Sunday he performed mass in the church. They placed the bishop, who was near seventy, on horseback, but the rest had to proceed on foot, and on their arrival at this miserable habitation, all but the bishop were put into irons. The place was considered one of some strength and importance, and

* This was the last letter the bishop ever wrote.

had been intrusted to the care of Mr Cullum, who had a large allowance from the government, for keeping it supplied as a magazine with powder, and weapons of defence; but he neglected his charge, and was one of the first captives placed there, when the rebels had converted it into a prison. The situation was very bare, and much exposed to a winter, unusually severe, while the building was completely open to the weather. Another individual was brought (it would almost seem providentially,) to these dungeons; for he had been originally a carpenter, and by getting some tools and old boards, he was enabled to form some kind of shelter to screen the bishop from the inclemency of the weather. His name was Castledine, and his history curious. He originally came to Ireland, possessing nothing but his tools, and had been employed by Sir Richard Waldron in erecting and making the wood-work for a castle that he was building in Cavan. Sir Richard, however, by a long course of extravagance expended his property before his castle was completed, and left the kingdom, ordering the estate to be sold. Castledine, who, having worked laboriously at his trade for thirty years, had amassed a large sum of money, was enabled to purchase that very estate, which by honest industry, had contributed to make his own fortune. He determined that it should revert to the descendants of its original possessor, and from a feeling of gratitude married one of his daughters to the impoverished son of his benefactor, for the purpose of leaving him the property. Castledine was also a man of great moral virtue, singular piety, and unbounded charity; so that his arrival was a cheering event to the prisoners; their guards brought them an abundant supply of provisions, but left them to cook for themselves, having taken off their irons, and given them as much liberty as was in their power. Even their savage natures were softened by the patient endurance of the bishop and his little company, and by the recollection of all his former kindness, and unfailing charities; or as bishop Burnet well expresses it, the gentle conduct of his keepers seemed like a second stopping of the lions' mouths. The good old bishop according to the same writer took joyfully the spoiling of his goods and the restraint of his person, comforting himself in this, that these light afflictions would quickly work for him a more exceeding and eternal weight of glory. The day after his imprisonment, being the Lord's day, he preached to his little flock on the epistle of the day, which set before them the humility and sufferings of Christ; and on Christmas-day he preached on Gal. iv. 4, 5, and administered the sacrament to the small congregation about him; their keepers having been so charitable as to furnish them with bread and wine. The following day his son preached on the last words of saint Stephen. While they were endeavouring to keep their minds in the holy and prepared state of men waiting for their Master's coming, and not knowing whether the call would come "at midnight, at cockcrow, or in the morning," an unexpected circumstance occurred which was the means of removing them out of their miserable captivity; but not before the silver cord was loosed that held the bishop to this state of existence, as he lived but one month from the time of his leaving the island, and during that period was in a dying state. The circumstance here alluded to, was a sally made by Sir

James Craig, Sir Francis Hamilton, and Sir Arthur Forker, afterwards Lord Grenard, with a body of Scots, from some houses in which they were closely besieged, and their provisions being exhausted, they preferred slaughter in the field, to famine. The attempt was at once unexpected and successful: they took some of the rebel leaders, killed others, and dispersed the rest. The result of this was their immediately demanding that the bishop, his two sons, and Mr Clogy, should be exchanged for their prisoners, and these latter being persons of importance, the demand was complied with. On the 7th of January, the prisoners on both sides were liberated, but the Irish only performed half their compact, as they promised to allow the bishop and his family to remove to Dublin, but hoping to secure additional advantages by keeping him in their power, they would not permit him to leave the county. He accordingly removed to the house of an Irish minister, Denis O'Shereden, to whom some respect was shown, in consequence of his Irish extraction, though he had conformed to the protestant religion, and married an English woman. He was a man of kind disposition, and strict principle, and aided many in their extremity.

During this last month of the bishop's life, notwithstanding his declining strength, he each Sunday either read the prayers and lessons, or preached. On the 23d of the month, he preached from the 71st psalm, particularly dwelling on these words, "O God thou hast taught me from my youth, and hitherto have I declared thy wondrous works; now also when I am old and gray headed, forsake me not." On the succeeding Sunday, he repeated again and again the following verse, which occurred in the psalms for the day, "send down thine hand from above, rid me and deliver me out of the great waters, from the hand of strange children, whose mouth talketh of vanity, and their right hand is a right hand of falsehood." The intense earnestness with which he repeated it, but too plainly showed what was passing in his mind, and his family were impressed as if by an omen, and could not restrain their tears. On the next day he became alarmingly ill, and on the following, ague, the natural consequence of his long exposure to damp, set in. As he grew worse he called his sons and their wives around him, and addressed them at intervals in nearly the following words:—

"I am going the way of all flesh; I am now ready to be offered up, and the time of my departure is at hand: knowing therefore that shortly I must put off this tabernacle, even as our Lord Jesus Christ hath showed me, I know also that if this my earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, I have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens, a fair mansion in the New Jerusalem, which cometh down out of heaven from my God; therefore to me to live is Christ, and to die is gain; which increaseth my desire even now to depart, and to be with Christ, which is far better than to continue here in all the transitory, vain, and false pleasures of this world, of which I have seen an end. Harken therefore to the last words of your dying father; I am no more in this world, but ye are in the world; I ascend to my Father and your Father, to my God and your God, through the all sufficient merits of Jesus Christ my Redeemer, who ever lives to make intercession for me, who is a propitia-

tion for all my sins, and washed me from them all in his own blood, who is worthy to receive glory and honour and power, who hath created all things, and for whom they are and were created.

"My witness is in heaven, and my record on high, that I have endeavoured to glorifie God on earth, and in the ministry of his dear Son which was committed to my trust; I have finished the work which he gave me to do, as a faithful ambassador of Christ, and steward of the mysteries of God. I have preached righteousness in the great congregation: lo I have not refrained my lips, O Lord, thou knowest. I have not hid thy righteousness within my heart, I have declared thy faithfulness and thy salvation; I have not concealed thy loving mercy, and thy truth from the great congregation of mankind. He is near that justifieth me, that I have not concealed the words of the Holy One; but the words that he gave to me, I have given to you, and ye have received them. I had a desire and resolution to walk before God (in every station of my pilgrimage, from my youth up to this day) in truth and with an upright heart, and to do that which was upright in his eyes, to the utmost of my power; and what things were gain to me formerly, these I count now loss for Christ; yea doubtless, and I account all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Jesus Christ my Lord, for whom I have suffered the loss of all things, and I account them but dung, that I may win Christ and be found in him, not having my own righteousness, which is of the law; but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith; that I may know him and the power of his resurrection, and the fellowship of his sufferings, being made conformable unto his death. I press therefore towards the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Jesus Christ.

"Let nothing separate you from the love of Christ; neither tribulation, nor distress, nor persecution, nor famine, nor nakedness, nor peril, nor sword; though (as ye hear and see) for his sake we are killed all the day long, we are counted as sheep for the slaughter, yet in all these things we are more than conquerors, through him that loved us; for I am persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate me from the love of God in Christ Jesus my Lord. Therefore, love not the world, nor the things of the world, but prepare daily and hourly for death, (that now besiegeth us on every side,) and be faithful unto death, that we meet together joyfully on the right hand of Christ at the last day, and follow the Lamb wheresoever he goeth, with all those that are clothed with white robes, in sign of innocence, and palms in their hands, in sign of victory; which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb. They shall hunger no more, nor thirst, neither shall the sun light on them, nor any heat; for the Lamb, that is in the midst of the throne, shall feed them, and shall lead them unto living fountains of waters, and shall wipe away all tears from their eyes.

"Choose rather, with Moses, to suffer afflictions with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season, which will be bitterness in the latter end. Look, therefore, for sufferings, and to be

daily made partakers of the sufferings of Christ, to fill up that which is behind of the affliction of Christ in your flesh, for his body's sake, which is the church. What can you look for, but one wo after another, while the Man of Sin is thus suffered to rage, and to make havoc of God's people at his pleasure; while men are divided about trifles, that ought to have been more vigilant over us, and careful of those whose blood is precious in God's sight, though now shed everywhere like water.

"If ye suffer for righteousness, happy are ye: be not afraid of their terror, neither be ye troubled; and be in nothing terrified by your adversaries, which is to them an evident token of perdition, but to you of salvation, and that of God. For to you is given, in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe on him, but also to suffer for his sake. Rejoice, therefore, in as much as ye are partakers of Christ's sufferings, that when his glory shall be revealed, ye may be glad also with exceeding joy. And if ye be reproached for the name of Christ, happy are ye; the spirit of glory and of Christ resteth on you; on their own part he is evil spoken of, but on your part he is glorified.

"God will surely visit you in due time, and return your captivity as the rivers of the south, and bring you back again into your possession of this land, though now for a time (if need be) ye are in heaviness through manifold temptations; yet ye shall reap in joy, though now ye sow in tears; all our losses shall be recompensed with abundant advantages, for my God will supply your need, according to the riches of his glory, by Jesus Christ, who is able to do exceeding abundantly for us, above all that we are able to ask or think."

After that, he blessed his children, and those that stood about him, in an audible voice, in these words:—

"God of his infinite mercy bless you all, and present you holy and unblameable, and unproveable in his sight, that we may meet together at the right hand of our blessed Saviour, Jesus Christ, with joy unspeakable and full of glory. Amen." To which he added these words:—"I have fought a good fight, I have finished the course of my ministry and life together. Though grievous wolves have entered in among us, not sparing the flock, yet I trust, the Great Shepherd of his flock will save and deliver them out of all places where they have been scattered in this cloudy and dark day; that they shall no more be a prey to the heathen, neither shall the beasts of the land devour them, but they shall dwell safely, and none shall make them afraid. O Lord, I have waited for thy salvation."

And after a little interval, he said,—

"I have kept the faith once given to the saints, for the which cause I have also suffered these things; but I am not ashamed, for I know whom I believed, and I am persuaded that he is able to keep that which I have committed to him against that day."

His speech failed shortly after, and he slumbered with little intermission, appearing composed and happy to the last. He died on the night of the 7th of February, the day of the month on which he was delivered from his captivity at Lockwater, or Lough-outre, as it is elsewhere called.

He requested to be laid next to his wife, who had been buried in the re-

mostest part of the south side of the church-yard of the cathedral of Kilmore. The titular bishop having taken possession of the cathedral, it became necessary to get his permission. Accordingly, Mr Clogy and Mr Sheridan went to the palace, accompanied by Mr Dillon, lord Roscommon's son, who was prevailed upon by his wife to accompany them, for the purpose of obtaining it. They had to rouse Dr Swiney from a drunken slumber, and when he was at length made to comprehend the object of their visit, he made some demur, saying that the church-yard was holy ground, and should no more be defiled with the bodies of heretics, but at length consented. The general feeling was, however, very different; for the chief of the rebels gathered his forces together, and accompanied the body from Mr Sheridan's to the church-yard of Kilmore with great solemnity, and desired Mr Clogy to bury him according to the office prescribed by the church. This, however, it was not thought prudent to attempt, lest the feeling of the lower orders should be excited by what they conceived a heretical ceremony. They, however, insisted on firing a volley of shot over his grave, and some of the better instructed among them exclaimed in Latin, "*Requiescat in pace ultimus Anglorum*;"—May the last of the English rest in peace! They had often said, that as they esteemed him the best of the English bishops, so he should be the last that should be left among them.

"Thus lived and died," says Burnet, "this excellent bishop, in whom so many of the greatest characters of a primitive and apostolical bishop did show themselves so eminently, that it seemed fit that he should still speak to the world, though dead; since great patterns give the easiest notions of eminent virtues, and teach in a way that has much more authority with it than all speculative discourses can possibly have."

His judgment and memory were very extraordinary, and continued unimpaired to the last. He corresponded with many of the first divines of the age, not only in England, but on the continent, and wrote in Latin with great elegance and correctness. He was free of access, and easy in conversation, but talked seldom of indifferent matters; his thoughts and heart being fixed above; and whatever conversation occurred, he generally gave it a useful and instructive direction. He was as remarkable for his sincerity and faithfulness in giving reproof, as for his mildness and moderation in receiving it, however undeserved.

He was tall and graceful in his person; and there was an elevation in his countenance and demeanour that discovered what was within, and created an awe and veneration for him. His style was like his mind,—clear, elevated, and correct, but plain and simple, despising superfluous ornament, especially on subjects of such solemn import as the salvation of souls.

His deportment was serious and unaffected; and one of his biographers, in speaking of his dress, says, "His habit was grave; in a long stuff gown, not costly, but comely; his stockings woollen; his shoes not much higher behind than before." His grey hairs were a crown to him, both for beauty and honour, and he wore a long beard, according to the general custom of the time. His strength and health were remarkably good until within a few years of his death, and even

after he left Lockwater, he surprised his family by the bodily exertion he was enabled to make.

His recreations were few and simple; consisting chiefly of walking, and digging in his garden, in which he took great interest, having acquired much skill in the management of plants during his residence in Italy. The furniture of his house was plain, but suitable to his situation, and his table was well covered, and generally well attended with guests; but they were chiefly of those who could make him no return, and he lived amongst his clergy as if they had been his brethren. His humility was great, and finely contrasted with his undaunted firmness, whenever principle was involved, or self-interest to be sacrificed. He selected an ingenious device to express and increase this humility. It was a flaming crucible, with the following motto in Hebrew, "Take from me all my tin;" the word in Hebrew that signifies tin being *Bedel*. He directed in his will that his tombstone should bear this simple inscription:—"Depositum Gulielmi quondam Episcopi Kilmorensis," signifying that his body was committed in trust to the earth, till the time arrived when she should give up her dead.

John Bramhal, Primate of Ireland.

CONSECRATED A.D. 1634.—DIED A.D. 1663.

JOHN BRAMHAL was descended from a respectable family in Cheshire: he was born in Pontefract, in Yorkshire, in 1593. He received his education at the university of Cambridge, from whence, after taking his degree of A.M., he obtained a benefice in Yorkshire. A controversy with some Jesuits upon the Romish tenet of transubstantiation, terminated so as to ascertain his being possessed of high logical powers: and thus recommended, he was appointed chaplain to Matthews archbishop of York, whose friendship he soon gained, by his sterling virtues and sound practical ability. By this prelate he was appointed a prebendary of York and Rippon. In this station his character became generally known, and obtained a high influence among the aristocracy of his county; and becoming known to Sir Thomas Wentworth, then president of York, he was selected to be his chaplain. In 1633, there was a regal visitation in Ireland, held by his patron, with whom he came over and acted as one of the chief directors of the proceedings. He resigned his English preferments by the desire of Wentworth, and by his influence and recommendation was soon after appointed to the see of Derry; and was consecrated in the chapel of Dublin castle, on May 26th, 1634, by Usher and Dopping, with the bishops of Down and Cork. He had been recommended to the sagacious Wentworth, by his eminent attainments and talents for the conduct of affairs, at a period when the unsettled state of the kingdom, both in church and state, made such attainments more than usually desirable. In addition to his extensive theological and academical acquirements, Bramhal was also known to have obtained an accurate

knowledge of English law, a fact indicative of the industry of his disposition, and the solidity of his understanding.

In Ireland he quickly launched into a course of useful activity. There he found indeed ample scope for the hand of correction and reformation. Wentworth's visitation had exposed the ruinous state of the church, which was, in every respect, in the lowest condition consistent with existence: its revenues were insufficient for the sustenance of the clergy; and its condition in point of doctrine and discipline had fallen into an entire derangement. Bramhal at once set himself, with all the vigour of his character, to the reform of these defects, so fatal to the maintenance of religion, and no less so to the progress of civil prosperity in this kingdom.

In 1635, there was a meeting of parliament, in which he exerted himself, in conjunction with the lord-lieutenant, to repair the ruins of the church. An act was passed for the execution of pious uses. Another to confirm leases of certain lands made by the bishops of Armagh and other prelates, and empowering them to make leases for sixty years of such lands within five years. Another was passed for the preservation of the inheritance, rights and profits of lands belonging to the church and persons ecclesiastical. Another act was passed to facilitate the restitution of impropriations, tithes, &c., with provisions restraining alienations of such rights. In the course of the following four years, this activity of Bramhal, with the aid of these legal provisions, effected considerable improvements in the external condition of the church: availing himself of the law, and exerting such means as could be made available, he recovered between thirty and forty thousand pounds, *per annum*, of its income.

But his exertions were in nothing more successfully exerted for the church, than in the sharp struggle, which, at the same time took place, to restore the suspended uniformity of the two national churches. For this object there were many strong motives to be found in the then existing political state of the two kingdoms. The tremendous struggle of the civil wars was then developing in the distance; and the more tremendous element of religious dissent, though, not yet disclosing any thing of its real power as a principle of revolution, had begun so early as the previous reign, to make itself sufficiently sensible in the balance of opposing powers, to have become an object of earnest and anxious attention in the view of all thoughtful and observant politicians. The church of Ireland had received a tinge of the Calvinistic spirit, which had then presented itself, in a form opposed to the principles of the episcopal church of England, and was feared by the court, and the court party also, as inconsistent with the principles of monarchical government then held. The puritans were becoming already formidable in England, and it was reasonably feared, that if their influence should increase, all classes of Christians who concurred with them in general views of doctrine or discipline, would eventually be found to make common cause with them against the crown; and such, indeed, afterwards turned out to be the actual fact. These considerations, then, sufficiently apparent, had a prevailing weight in the policy of Charles, and of the sagacious Wentworth. Unquestionably, reasons of a still more influential description were not without their due weight:

both the king and his lieutenant were men susceptible of a strong tinge of religious notions; and it is not necessary to point out those which must then have pressed strongly on the heart of every Christian member of the episcopal church. To every consistent member of this church, there were questions of far higher interest than those paltry considerations of nationality, which engross the narrow scope of popular opinion, and cloud the intellect of the partisan; it was obvious, that the adhesion of the Irish church, to the uniform state of the English, was not only an accession of strength to the whole; but, as matters then stood, essential to the reformation, and even the safety, of the church. The disunion of the Irish church, like that of any smaller and less matured system comprising human principles of conduct and feeling from a larger and more matured system, with which it has such a connexion as subsists between the two countries, is not unlike that independence, which children would willingly gain, from the control of their parents: in all such cases the premature arrogation of self-government is sure to be maintained by every deviation from the course of prudence and discretion, that pride, passion, and the natural combativeness of human nature, can suggest. There are, it is true, abundant grounds of exception to this general rule; but, at that time, such grounds had no existence in a country, in all things characteristically governed by party feeling, and at that time especially, subject to this and all other deleterious influences, from the deficiency of those counteracting processes which belong to knowledge and civilization. Our church could only attain to a healthy state, and preserve its vitality by that incorporate vigour and regulated action, to be attained by a union like that then designed, and against which, there was no objection in principle; governed by English bishops, and ostensibly agreeing in forms of worship, doctrine, and church government, the same in all essentials that have any practical importance, the Irish church had fallen into the utmost irregularity in these respects, and having in itself no sanatory principle, might be restored but could not be impaired by such a connexion.

We have already had occasion to state the change which had been some time before effected in the form of the Irish church, by the substantial adoption of the articles of Lambeth. We are now, at the distance of twenty years from that incident, to relate the re-adoption of the articles and canons of the English church, a course advised by Bishop Bramhal, and violently resisted by many other influential members of the convocation. The plan of proceeding devised for the occasion, appears from a letter from Laud to Strafford, to have been this, that the articles of the church of England should be received *ipsisssimis verbis*, and leave the other articles unnoticed, on the obvious principle of the statute law, that such a silence would amount to a virtual annulment. The propriety of this course was made clear enough from the justly anticipated risk of opposition. Such indeed, when the matter was first moved, seems to have been the suggestion of Usher himself, if we rightly interpret a passage in one of Strafford's letters to Laud, in which a way was "propounded by my lord Primate, how to bring on this clergy the articles of England, and silence those of Ireland, without noise as it were, *aliud agens*." Usher, however,

retracted; from what influence it is not now easy to ascertain farther than conjecture; but of his dislike to the proposed alteration there is no doubt. His change of opinion was expressed, and awakened the suspicions of Strafford; but he was at the moment too heavily encumbered with the pressing hurry of parliament, to interfere; and the convocation in which the proposal was introduced proceeded in its own way: what this was, and its likely result, may best be told in the words of the same letter: "At length I got a little time and that most happily too; I informed myself of the state of those affairs, and found that the lower house of convocation had appointed a select committee to consider the canons of the church of England; that they did proceed in that committee, without at all conferring with their bishops, that they had gone through the book of canons, and noted in the margin such as they allowed with an A; and on others, they had entered a D, which stood for *deliberandum*; that into the fifth article they had brought the articles of Ireland to be allowed and received under the pain of excommunication," &c.

The indignation of Strafford will easily be conceived; he at once summoned before him the chairman of the committee who was desired to bring with him the book of canons to which the above marks were annexed, with the draught of the canons which they had drawn up to present the same evening in the house; and having expressed his strong disapprobation, he peremptorily forbade the presentation of the report, till further notice. He then convened a meeting composed of Usher, Bramhal, and other bishops, before whom the committee had also been summoned to attend. In this assembly he sternly rebuked them for the whole of the proceedings. He then directed the prolocutor of their house, who was present by his desire, that he should put no question in the house, touching the receiving or not the articles of the church of Ireland; but that he should simply put the question for the allowing and receiving the articles of the church of England, "barely content, or not content."

Usher was desired to frame the canon for this purpose; but having done so, Wentworth, not contented with his draft, drew up another himself and sent it to Usher, who soon came to tell him that he feared it could never pass in that form. But Strafford, whose suspicions as to the primate's good-will, on the occasion, had been strongly excited, announced his determination to put it to the vote as it stood; and forthwith sent it to the prolocutor. This was the first canon of the convocation, and declaratory of the adoption of the thirty-nine articles, in the following form: "For the manifestation of our agreement with the church of England, in the confession of the same Christian faith, and the doctrine of the sacraments; we do receive and approve the book of articles of religion, agreed upon by the archbishops, and bishops, and the whole clergy in the convocation, holden at London, in the year of our Lord 1562, for the avoiding of diversities of opinions, and for the establishing of consent touching true religion. And, therefore, if any hereafter shall affirm, that any of those articles are, in any part, superstitious or erroneous, or such as he may not with a good conscience subscribe unto, let him be excommunicated, and not absolved before he makes a public recantation of his error." By this canon, the thirty-

nine articles were adopted; but the natural question arose among the clergy—on whose part, in general, there remained a strong leaning in favour of the former articles—whether they were to be regarded as abolished or not. Some conceived that, by the new canon, they who should subscribe would only thereby declare their agreement with the doctrines of the English church, while the former still continued in force. Others, thinking more precisely, saw that the Irish articles were annulled by the canon. And it cannot but be admitted, that a recent enactment, of which the provisions were in direct contrariety to the previous law on the same points, must needs be considered as a virtual repeal. On points of coincidence, the former provisions would be merely superseded; and the question can only properly arise on points unaffected by the new law. Such must have been the decision, had the case been referred to judicial consideration; but in such a question relative to an entire system of fundamental provisions, embodying, in fact, the constitution of a church, there would seem to be a question of fitness antecedent to any such considerations. A church intending to unite itself with another, by the reception of its symbols and forms, must be referred to the design of such an act; and thus the maintenance of its ancient frame must be regarded as a plain absurdity, and wholly inconsistent with the object. Usher, indeed, with an inconsistency which we can but imperfectly account for, by allowing for the partiality of parentage—for the tenets of Usher are not represented by the Irish articles—considered that the English articles were only received subject to the construction they might receive from the Irish, and for the purpose “of manifesting our agreement with the church of England.” For some time after, the primate and several of the bishops required subscriptions to both sets of articles; but it was not without strong doubts of the legitimacy of such a procedure, an application was made to the lord-deputy for consent to re-enact the Irish articles, which he refused. Most of the bishops, however, adopted a course more in unison with the intent of Bramhal and the government. And in the troubles, which immediately after set in, the matter was dropped, and the thirty-nine articles have ever since been received without any question, as those of the united church of England and Ireland.

A similar effort was made with respect to the canons, but resisted by the primate, on the ground that the Irish church would thus be reduced to an entire dependence on the English; to prevent which the good primate proposed that, in this respect, some differences should be maintained, to preserve independence in that church of which he was the ecclesiastical head. Such a reason was consistent with the patriotism of Usher, and the no less respectable corporate feeling which is a main preserving principle of public institutions: but it was little consistent with a more enlarged view of the true interests of Ireland, which has in nothing suffered more than from its high pitch of nationality, maintained by distinctions, of which most, arising from the state of things, could not be removed. In thus excepting against the primate's reason, we may say, *en parenthese*, that eventually, this slight distinction between the two churches has been of service to religion in this island. But there were indeed better reasons for differences in the canons of

the churches than the one put foremost by Usher; and these, fortunately, were alone operative in the actual arrangements. The churches were very differently placed as to their ministry, congregations, and the external circumstances by which they were affected. It is, however, mentioned by Carte, that "abundance of the members were puritanical in their hearts, and made several trifling objections to the body of canons extracted out of the English, which was offered to their judgment and approbation; particularly to such as concerned the solemnity and uniformity of divine worship, the administration of the sacraments, and the ornaments used therein; the qualifications for holy order, for benefices and pluralities, the oath against simony, the times of ordination, and the obligation to residency and subscription."

Notwithstanding these and such objections, it was agreed to construct a body of ecclesiastical canons and constitutions for the Irish church, on the frame of those of England, by adopting such as might be deemed unobjectionable, and adding such as the special circumstances of Ireland might seem to require. The execution of this arrangement was committed to Bramhal, who drew up the Irish canons to the number of one hundred. These were passed in the convocation, and received the king's assent. The differences between those and the canons of the English church have been noticed, in a careful comparison, in a learned work by a living prelate, to whom the Irish church is variously indebted for works of great practical utility: we think it the fairest way to give the results in his own language.

1. As to "the solemnity and uniformity of divine worship." That "that form of liturgy or divine service, and no other, shall be used in any church of this realm; but which is established by law, and comprised in the book of common prayer, and administration of the sacraments," was as distinctly affirmed by the third Irish canon, as it could possibly be by the 36th or any other of the English, so that uniformity of divine worship was thus far apparently secured; yet a difference is observable in the rules which relate to circumstantial uniformity, or at least to the solemnity, of such worship.

In pursuance of the apostle's rule, "Let all things be done decently and in order," the 18th English canon distinctly judged and directed, "that in divine service, all manner of persons then present shall reverently kneel upon their knees, when the general confession, litany, and other prayers are read; and shall stand up at the saying of the belief, according to the rules in that behalf prescribed in the book of common prayer; and likewise, when in time of divine service, the Lord Jesus shall be mentioned, due and lowly reverence shall be done by all persons present, as it hath been accustomed." It also ordains, that every "man, woman, and child," shall "say in their due places, audibly with the minister, the confession, the Lord's prayer, and the creed; and make such other answers to the publick prayers as are appointed in the book of common prayer." The corresponding Irish canon, which is the 7th, directs, that all persons attending divine service, shall "use all such reverend gestures and actions as by the book of prayer

are prescribed in that behalf, and the commendable use of the church received." Thus it refrains from special notice of postures, appointed for divine service; and it omits the direction concerning "bowing at the name of Jesus," and an audible participation in the service, by every "man, woman, and child."

2. As to "the administration of sacraments," the 13th English canon, which explains "the lawful use of the cross in baptism," not without an expression of sorrow at the inefficacy of the care and pains taken by king James I., at Hampton-court conference, for satisfying those who stuck at and impugned it, was altogether omitted from the Irish body of canons. And together with the explanation was, of course omitted, the clear language, in which the canon lays down the duty of every private man, both minister and other, to submit to public authority in all things of themselves indifferent, which in some sort alter their nature, when lawfully commanded or forbidden.

In the administration of the Lord's supper, on comparing the canons of the two churches, I have not been struck by any deviation in the latter from solemn provisions of the earlier code. But I may remark incidentally, that the 18th Irish canon, instead of deviating from, does concur with the 27th and the 21st English in two important injunctions: viz., that "no minister, when he celebrateth the communion, shall willingly administer the same to any but such as kneel;" and that "the minister shall deliver both the bread and the wine to every communicant severally."

3. As to "the ornaments used in divine service," whereas the 58th English canon enjoins, that "every minister saying the publick prayers, or ministering the sacraments or other rites of the church, shall wear a decent and comely surplice," there appears no corresponding Irish injunction; although in the 7th, notice is taken of the surplice, as worn in cathedral and collegiate churches; and under this head it may be remarked, that there is no corresponding Irish to the 82d English canon, which orders, "that the ten commandments be set up upon the east end of every church and chapel, where the people may best see and read the same; and other chosen sentences written upon the walls of the said churches and chapels in places convenient."

The 55th English canon, also, entitled, "The form of a prayer to be used by all preachers before their sermons," has not any counterpart in the Irish body.

These are its chief, if not its only, omissions upon the specific articles of divine worship.

In the other particulars enumerated above, I have perceived no deviations of moment, unless it be, that, in relation to "the quality of such as are to be made ministers," an account of the candidate's faith is required by the 34th English canon, "according to the articles of religion, approved in the synod of the bishops and clergy of this realm, one thousand five hundred and sixty-two;" and by the 31st Irish, "according to the articles of religion generally received in the church of England and Ireland." The question, which has been already stated, concerning the effect of the recent adoption of the English ar-

ticles, and the jealousy which prevailed in some minds concerning them, may have given occasion for the indefinite terms of this condition.

Additional canons, suggested by the peculiar exigences of the Irish church, were also interwoven with those of the English code.

The 8th canon directed, that the parochial minister, subject to the judgment of the ordinary, should "endeavour that the confession of sins, and absolution, and all the second service, at or before the communion, to the homily or sermon, where the people all, or most, are Irish, shall be used in English first, and then in Irish." The 86th canon directed, "that the minister, if an Englishman, and there are many Irish in the parish, such a parish clerk shall be chosen as shall be able to read those parts of the service which shall be appointed to be read in Irish, if it may be." And in the 94th canon, which directs the church-wardens to provide two books of common prayer, and a bible, in every church, for the minister, and for the clerk, it is added, "Where all, or the most part, of the people are Irish, they shall provide also the said books in the Irish tongue, so soon as they may be had; the charge of these Irish books being borne also wholly by the parish."

These provisions were suggested by the exigencies of the country, arising out of its peculiar condition with respect to the language of its inhabitants; but one of them in particular, the second, is a striking evidence of the obstruction presented to the reformed religion, seeing that it was deemed necessary to allow part of the service of the church to be read by one who was not ordained a minister.

The following were designed to counteract the prevailing religious ignorance and superstition, and to be instrumental in substituting an acquaintance with the true religion of the gospel.

By the 9th canon, preachers were instructed to "teach no vain opinions, no heresies, nor popish errors, disagreeing from the articles of religion generally received in the churches of England and Ireland; nor anything at all, whereby the people may be stirred up to the desire of novelties or contention, but shall soberly and sincerely divide the word of truth to the glory of God, and to the best edification of the people."

The canon which provided for the catechising of the young and ignorant every Sunday, being the 11th, prohibited the ministers from "admitting any to be married, or to be godfathers or godmothers at the baptism of any child, or to receive the holy communion before they can say the articles of belief, the Lord's Prayer, and the commandments, in such a language as they understand."

For the better grounding of the people in the principles of the Christian religion, it was, by the 12th canon, ordained, "that the heads of the catechism, being divided into as many parts as there are Sundays in the year, shall be explained to the people in every parish church. In the handling thereof, the ministers and curates are to use such moderation that they do not run into curious questions or unnecessary controversies, but shortly declare and confirm the doctrines proposed, and make application thereof to the behoof of their hearers. The ministers, also, in their preachings, and catechisings, and private confer-

ences, when need requireth, shall teach the people to place their whole trust and confidence in God, and not in creatures, neither in the habit or scapular of any friar, or in hallowed beads, medals, reliques, or such like trumperies. They shall do their endeavour, likewise, to root out all the ungodly, superstitious, and barbarous customs, as using charms, sorcery, enchantments, witchcraft, or soothsaying, and generally to reform the manners of the people committed to their charge, unto a christian, sober, and civil conversation."

And by the 97th canon, the church wardens were directed, "with the approbation of the ordinary of the place, to see that all rood-lofts, in which wooden crosses stood,—all shrines, and all coverings of shrines, and all other monuments of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry, and superstitions, be clean taken away and removed."

There were three or four other additional ordinances, supplemental to those of the English church:—

"For remedy of the smallness of the maintenance of the clergy," it was ordained, by the 36th canon, "that when there is one parish, a rectory and vicarage, or portion of tythes collative, the bishop shall unite them perpetually; and those unions the deans and chapters shall be bound to confirm, to remain perpetually as one entire benefice."*

By the 19th, the afternoon before the administration of the holy communion, the minister was directed to "give warning by the tolling of a bell, or otherwise, to the intent, that if any have any scruple of conscience, or desire the special ministry of reconciliation, he may afford it to those who need it." And the people were exhorted to special examination of the state of their own souls; and that, "finding themselves either extreme dull, or much troubled in mind, they resort unto God's ministers, as well for advice and counsel, as for the quieting of their consciences by the power of the keys which Christ hath committed to his ministers for that purpose."

And by the 49th, persons were directed to marry, "neither in the time of Lent, nor of any publick fast, nor of the solemn festivities of the nativity, resurrection, and ascension of our Lord, or of the descension of the Holy Ghost."

"That these additions, considered in their application to the state of religion in Ireland, were generally improvements to the English canons, may be readily admitted; that the omissions, likewise, were improvements, may be questioned at least, perhaps denied. Nor can I think that any good purpose was answered by the dismemberment and re-construction of the entire body upon a different plan. If the object was to maintain the independence and free agency of the Irish church, that object might have been attained by appending to the English canons, or interweaving with them, such additions as appeared requisite for national purposes, and then adopting the code, in pursuance of bishop Bramhal's proposal, in its original form, with those additions. Such a code would have been more complete in itself, and better fitted for preserving that unity of christian profession, which

* The 43d directed, that "as often as churches were newly built, where formerly there were not, or churchyards appointed for burial, they shall be dedicated and consecrated; provided that the ancient churches and churchyards shall not be put to any base or unworthy use." (Left out in the above by mistake.)

was avowedly manifested by the adoption of the English articles, than by rejecting some of the English canons, and new-modelling the whole. For, whilst the wisdom of these objections is by no means palpable or indisputable, the new-modelling of the code gives an appearance of discrepancy, which really does not exist."

"I have judged it expedient to go into some detail on this subject; that the reader may thus be made aware of the general agreement between the two churches, in their canons, as well as in their articles, and better apprehend the position of the church of Ireland, after the accomplishment of these important acts of legislation."*

The canons were printed and published in September, 1635, and excited a strong sensation of terror and discontent among the Calvinistic party. The bishop of Derry was as active in his efforts to enforce their observance, as he had been in their introduction.

In 1640, most of the Scotch episcopalian clergy, who had refused to take the covenant, were compelled to flee from the rage of the covenanters: of these some sought refuge in this country. The hospitable protection of Bramhal was extended to many of them, among whom were the archbishop of St Andrews, the archbishop of Glasgow, the bishop of Ross, &c.

As the puritans became ascendant in England, and obtained the full possession of the powers of government, the Irish parliament followed the example of the long parliament in England, and became the active instrument of rebellion and oppression. Their party in Ireland felt the advantage of the juncture, and resolved not to be wanting to the occasion: a petition against the bishops of the north, partly false—and what was not false, unjust—was got up, and received by parliament complacently. Against the active and uncompromising Bramhal, the especial enmity of the puritan party was directed: he was impeached, together with the chief justice, the chancellor, and Sir G. Radcliffe, by Sir Bryan O'Neill. The supporters of the charge were powerful and confident; and Bramhal's friends urged that he should keep himself aloof; but the firmness of the bishop's character made him resolve to meet the vexatious charges, which, in truth, had no object but a pretext for his destruction. He came to town and appeared in his place in the house of lords. He was immediately arrested, and committed to prison. The record of his merits and sufferings on this occasion has been perpetuated by the eloquence of Jeremy Taylor:—"When the numerous army of vexed people heaped up catalogues of accusations—when the parliament of Ireland imitated the violent proceedings of the disordered English—when his glorious patron was taken from his head, and he was disrobed of his great defences—when petitions were invited, and accusations furnished, and calumny was rewarded and managed with art and power—when there were about two hundred petitions put in against him, and himself denied leave to answer by word of mouth—when he was long imprisoned, and treated so that a guilty man would have been broken into afflictment and pitiful and low considerations—yet then, he himself, standing almost alone, like Callimachus at Marathon, hemmed in with enemies, and covered

* Mant's History of the Irish Church, i. pp. 497—505.

with arrows, defended himself beyond all the powers of guiltiness, even with the defences of truth and the bravery of innocence; and answered the petitions in writing, sometimes twenty in a day, with so much clearness, evidence of truth, reality of fact, and testimony of law, that his very enemies were ashamed and convinced.* Such is the eloquent, but not exaggerated, account which Taylor has given, of the most truly illustrious period in the life of this eminent prelate. He winds up his brief and nervous detail, by the remark, that his enemies having failed to make good any particular case against Bramhal, had recourse to the common subterfuge of democratic persecution, and attacked him with vague and general accusations; or, in the words of Taylor, "They were forced to leave their muster-rolls, and decline the particulars, and fall to their *συμψη*, to accuse him for going about to subvert the fundamental laws, the device by which great Strafford and Canterbury fell;" a device which, assuredly, in Bramhal's case, as in those of Laud and Wentworth, betrays, in the utter dishonesty of the pretence, a sanguinary premeditation to remove persons obnoxious by their virtue and principles. The robber as fitly might justify his vocation on the public roads, by pretending to maintain the laws of property, as the puritan parliament affect to vindicate any law but the will of an armed democracy. To these notices we may add the bishop's own account, in a letter to the primate:—"It would have been a great comfort and contentment to me, to have received a few lines of counsel or comfort, in this my great affliction which has befallen me, for my zeal to the service of his majesty, and the good of this church, in being a poor instrument to restore the usurped advowsons and impropriations to the crown, and to increase the revenue of the church in a fair, just way, always with the consent of the parties, which did ever use to take away errors.

"But now it is said to be obtained by threatening and force. What force did I ever use to any? What one man ever suffered for not consenting? My force was only force of reason, and law. The scale must needs yield when weight is put into it. And your Grace knows to what pass many bishopricks were brought, some to 100 per annum, some 50, as Waterford, Kilfenoragh, and some others; some to 5 marks, as Cloyne, and Kilmacduagh. How in some dioceses as in Frens and Leighlin, there was scarce a living left that was not farmed out to the patron, or to some for his use, at £2, £3, £4, or £5 per annum, for a long time, three lives or a hundred years. How the Chantries of Ardee, Dundalk, &c., were employed to maintain priests and friars, which are now the chief maintenance of the incumbents.

"In all this my part was only labour and expence: but I find that losses make a deeper impression than benefits. I cannot stop men's mouths; but I challenge all the world for one farthing I ever got, either by references or church preferments. I fly to your grace as an anchor at this time, when my friends cannot help me. God knows how I have exulted at night, that day I had gained any considerable revenue to the church, little dreaming that in future times that act should be questioned as treasonable, &c. &c."

* Quoted from Mait's History of the Irish Church.

In the reply of Usher, among other things, it is mentioned, "my lord Strafford, the night before his suffering, (which was most christian and magnanimous, *ad stuporem usque*) sent me to the king, giving me in charge, among other particulars, to put him in mind of you and of the other two lords that are in the same pressure." Eventually the king sent over his commands for the deliverance of the bishop, and he was soon after liberated.

The Irish rebellion now shortly set in; its deplorable consequences were not confined to any sect or class; but however they may have commenced in causes already sufficiently dwelt on, rapidly spread and involved alike the innocent and guilty in their prolonged course of terror, suffering, and destruction. Among the sufferers, it was least of all to be reckoned that Bramhal should escape his share. The miscreant O'Neile, whose character was an equal compound of madness and atrocity, made an effort for his destruction: Bramhal, however, came off with the loss of some personal property in the attack, the plunder of his carriages, and escaped into England, where he bravely and faithfully encountered many dangers scarcely less imminent, by his adherence to the king.

He visited this country again under the Commonwealth, and narrowly escaped being seized and delivered up at the revolt of Cork: on this occasion Cromwell is said to have strongly expressed his vexation, and said that he would have given a liberal reward for the apprehension of that "Irish Canterbury."* After some other misadventures, he again took the wise part of escaping into England, and was on the passage saved from his enemies, by a providential change of wind, which baffled the pursuit of two parliamentary ships, by which the vessel in which he sailed was chased. Finding no refuge in England, he was presently driven to the shift of travelling, and formed the somewhat unaccountable and rash design of a visit to Spain. But on his arrival in that country he received a seasonable warning: at an inn upon the road, his surprise was great at finding himself recognised by the hostess, who, on looking at his face, at once called him by his name. On being questioned by the bishop, the woman showed him his picture, and gave him the startling information, that many copies of it had been sent over with orders for his arrest and committal to the Inquisition. Her husband, she added, was under orders to that effect, and would not fail to execute them, should he discover him. It may be presumed, that the bishop was not slow to depart. On this incident doubts have been raised; with the grounds of the particular doubts we do not concur. But we have no very great confidence in any part of the narrative: we cannot admit the doubt that his parliamentary enemies would be active to get rid of the "Irish Canterbury" by any means, and we can as little doubt the convenient subserviency to such a purpose, of that most revolting and execrable of human institutions, the Spanish Inquisition: but we should most doubt that the sagacious intelligence of Bramhal would have walked heedless into so formidable a trap, without some motive more adequate than has been stated.

* Harris.

At this fearful period of calamity and reverse, when few clergy or prelates of the English and Irish church escaped the license of plunder, and the rapacity of unhallowed power; and Bramhal, like most of his brethren, was narrowly struggling on the verge of utter destitution, he was so fortunate as to receive a debt of £700, from some person to whom he had lent the sum in better times. As he was circumstanced, this was, indeed, a great and signal mercy, which he thankfully received, and gratefully disposed of, not only for his own relief, but that of other sufferers of his forlorn and persecuted church, and faithful loyalists, "to whom even of his penury he distributed so liberally, that the blessing of such as were ready to perish fell upon him."*

But Bramhal was reserved for better times; and as he had been tried and found faithful in the season of a fiery trial, so he was to be rewarded by the station for which he had been thus severely approved.

"At this period," writes bishop Mant, "the church of Ireland had preserved only eight of her former bishops; Bramhal of Derry; John Lealy of Raphoe; Henry Lealy of Down and Cavan; Maxwell of Kilmore; Bailly of Clonfert; Williams of Ossory; Jones of Clogher; and Fulwar of Ardferf.—Of these, the bishop of Derry, in particular, was well-known, and highly esteemed for his previous ecclesiastical services, so that the general sense of the church and of the kingdom concurred with the judgment of the government, which made an early selection of him for the archbishoprick of Armagh, and primacy and metropolitical dignity of all Ireland, to which he was nominated in August 1660, and formally appointed on the 18th of January, 1661."† The appointment of so many new bishops as such a state of things demanded was for a time the rallying point of party and sectarian excitement: the desolate condition of the Irish church had raised the strong hopes of its enemies of every persuasion, that it could hardly be restored: and above all, at the present moment the expectation was, that the sees would not be filled. There was some difficulty on the part of government, arising from the want of the great seal, for the execution of the patents; but the marquess of Ormonde saw the strong expediency of putting an end to party speculation and to the propagation of the adverse feeling, by expediting the nomination which he advised to have made out under the king's signet. On the opposite side, addresses were sent up from numerous protestants, chiefly the leaven of the Cromwellian soldiers, to petition against bishops, and that their spiritual interests might remain "under the charge of the godly ministers of the gospel, who had so long laboured among them." The strength of this party was, however, not of a substantial or permanent character, as it lay almost entirely in the officers of the army, who were in fact only kept together in a state of organization by the want of money to pay their arrears. By these, or rather by their principal commanders, Sir T. Stanley, &c., the petitions were sent round for signatures, which were obtained with the ordinary facility of that spurious expression of popular sentiment. The officers had nevertheless been generally so free in their language, that there were few of

* Mant from Vesey's life of Bramhal.

† Hist. of the Church of Ireland.

them altogether beyond the reach of being called to account for seditious and disloyal expressions: of this circumstance Sir Charles Coote took advantage for the purpose of intimidating the most violent of them, and it is stated that they were thus led to desist.*

Yet the intrigues thus defeated, would, at this time, have been of slight comparative moment, had there not been persons of high rank and weight secretly concerned in impeding the re-edification of the Irish church. Such persons could not without danger commit themselves to proceedings which might, without wrong, be interpreted into disaffection to the crown at a moment when such a charge would be most unsafe. They felt themselves therefore, compelled, silently to allow the appointment of the bishops; but it was another thing and subject to no dangerous construction, to interfere with their temporalities, and to resist in every way the restoration of church possessions. Under the pretence of urging other interests, they endeavoured to obtain the insertion in the king's declaration for the settlement of Ireland, of a clause to withhold all improvements of ecclesiastical rents made during the government of the earl of Strafford—improvements mainly attributable to the wisdom and energy of Bramhal. They were now attacked on the pretence that they had been made at the council table, which had no authority for such acts.

To counteract this intrigue, Bramhal, now raised to the head of the Irish church, convened the other eight bishops in Dublin, in November, 1660, when they agreed upon an address, in which they represented to king Charles, "that it never was the intention of his grandfather, that one single tenant, who had no need, and was of no use to the church, should enjoy a greater yearly revenue out of his royal bounty than the see itself, and the succession of pastors; yet this was the case till the time of the earl of Strafford, through whose sides the church was now attacked, and in danger of suffering. That they were ready to demonstrate, that the council table in Ireland had been ever esteemed and used as the proper judicature for such causes, throughout the last two reigns, and so upwards throughout all ages since the conquest. Nor could it possibly be otherwise; the revenues of Irish bishops, depending much on the rules of plantation—and rules of plantation being only cognoscible at the council board." Having further extended the application of this principle, the petition went on to state the consequences, which they showed to be the entire beggary of the sees; and craved that nothing should be done to the prejudice of the church, until at least they might be heard in its defence. This petition was presented by the marquess of Ormonde, and received, through him, a favourable answer from the king, "that he would, by all the ways and means in his power, preserve their rights and those of the church of Ireland, so far as by law and justice he might, &c., &c." With the king's letter the marquess wrote to the primate, assuring him of his own zealous co-operation. The good offices of the marquess were indeed prompt and effectual, and, through his zealous exertion, the king soon restored the temporalities of the Irish church

* Carte, ii. 209.

to the full extent of their possessions in 1641. He also issued his royal mandate to the primate for the consecration of the new bishops nominated to the vacant sees. Accordingly, two archbishops and ten suffragans were, on the 27th of January, 1661, consecrated in St Patrick's cathedral, by the primate, assisted by four other bishops; the consecration sermon being preached by Jeremy Taylor. And, not often in the history of churches has there occurred an occasion so suited to call forth the higher powers of that illustrious preacher, than on that occasion which witnessed the restoration of the sacred edifice of the church from the dust and ashes in which it had been cast down by cupidity and fanaticism; and the consecration to that sacred office of twelve men, who had, during these dark and dreadful years of trial and dismay, braved all the terrors and sufferings of persecution for her sake, and now stood up in their white robes, like those "which came out of great tribulation," to stand before their Master's throne and serve him in his temple. Bishop Mant, who gives a brief but full detail of the proceedings of this day, closes his account with the following observation, which we here extract:—"The consecration, at the same time, and by imposition of the same hands of twelve Christian bishops, two of the number being of metropolitan eminence, to their apostolical superintendence of the church of Christ, is an event probably without a parallel in the church." The event and its consequence, with reference to the illustrious primate engaged in the consecration, is thus noticed by bishop Taylor, in his sermon preached at the funeral of archbishop Bramhal, in the year 1663:—

"There are great things spoken of his predecessor St Patrick, that he founded 700 churches and religious convents, that he ordained 5000 priests, and with his own hands consecrated 350 bishops. How true the story is I know not, but we were all witnesses that the late primate whose memory we celebrate, did by an extraordinary contingency of Providence, in one day consecrate two archbishops and ten bishops; and did benefit to almost all the churches of Ireland; and was greatly instrumental in the re-endowments of the whole clergy; and in the greatest abilities and incomparable industry was inferior to none of his antecessors."

We cannot, consistently with the popular design of this work, here enter, in all the detail to which we might otherwise be inclined, upon a view of the position in which our church now stood, after many trying vicissitudes again settled on a strong basis, against a sea of troubles which continued and continues to beat against her sacred ramparts. She was yet surrounded on every side by jealousy, enmity, and cupidity; and her many and various enemies, though beaten down by the result of the long struggle which had steeped the land in woe and murder for so many years, still retained their hate, and, though they did not endanger her existence, exposed her to many trials, and much abridged her usefulness. On this general state of things we shall at a further period venture some reflections, which might here carry us further than is our desire from the direct purpose of this memoir.

Among the difficulties to which the bishops were now exposed, was that arising from the number of their clergy who had been admitted from

the presbyterian church, and who, therefore, had not received ordination according to the canons of the church, as it now stood. To these men in general, there was personally no objection; but it was justly decided by Bramhal and the other bishops, that the canons of the church must be adhered to. A departure from order is unquestionably inconsistent with that inviolability on which the existence of institutions is (to all human contemplation,) dependent. The difficulty was indeed considerable: the necessity of a strict adherence to the laws of an institution is not always sensible to the popular eye; it is easier to see the evil or the hardship when a good preacher and a worthy minister of the gospel stands questioned on a seeming point of form, than to comprehend the vital necessity of preserving inviolate the order and form of a sacred institution. The bishops were, perhaps, becomingly indifferent as to the foam and "salt surf weeds" of popular opinion: but they felt as men the hardship to the man, and as prelates the loss to the church. The course to be pursued was nice and difficult, for it was a peremptory necessity in such cases, that the minister should receive episcopal ordination: such, by a clause in the act of uniformity was the law; nor could the bishop depart from it for any consideration of expediency, without an abandonment of the sacred obligations of his office. Under these circumstances, the conduct of Bramhal displayed the prudence, firmness, and kindness of his nature; "when the benefices were called at the visitation, several appeared and exhibited only such titles as they had received from the late power. He told them they were no legal titles; but in regard he heard well of them, he was willing to make such to them by institution and induction, which they humbly acknowledged, and entreated his lordship to do. But desiring to see their letters of orders, some had no other but their certificates of ordination by some presbyterian classes, which, he told them did not qualify them for any preferment in the church. Whereupon the question immediately arose 'are we not ministers of the gospel?' To this Bramhal replied that such was not the question, and explained the essential distinction between an objection on the ground of a positive disqualification for the ministry, and one on that of not being qualified to be functionaries of the church. He pointed out the important fact that the defect of their orders was such as to vitiate the title of their temporal rights, and that they could not legally sue for their tithes. Without disputing their sacred character or their spiritual qualification, he insisted on the necessity of guarding against schism and of the preservation of order. To his arguments all the more reasonable gave their assent, and complied with the law by receiving ordination according to the form prescribed by the canons of the church, and contained in the Book of Common Prayer. In the letters of orders given on this occasion, there was introduced the following explanatory form. "*Non annihilantes priores ordines, (si quos habuit,) nec validitatem aut invaliditatem eorum determinantes, multo minus omnes ordines sacros ecclesiarum forensicarum condemnantes, quos proprio judici relinquimus: sed solummodo supplettes quicquid prius defuit per canones ecclesiæ Anglicanæ requisitum; et providentes paci ecclesiæ, ut schismatis tollatur occasio, et conscientiiis fidelium satisfiat, nec ullo modo dubitent de ejus ordinatione, aut actus*

suos presbyteriales tanquam invalidos asseverentur: in cujus rei testimonium," &c.

In 1661, a parliament was called in Dublin, and Bramhal was appointed speaker of the house of lords; the lord chancellor having been supposed to be disqualified for that office, as being at the time one of the lords-justices of the kingdom. The appointment, with the reasons and attendant circumstances, are thus announced to the duke of Ormonde, by lord Orrery: "His majesty having empowered the lords-justices to appoint a fit person to be speaker of the house of lords, my lord Chancellor has proposed to us my lord Santry, against whom we had several material objections, besides his disability of body; and he being at best a cold friend to the declaration: which made me propose my lord primate, well known in [versed in] the orders and proceedings of that house, (having sat in two parliaments,) a constant and eminent sufferer for his late and now [present] majesty: and that in such a choice, we might let the dissenters and fanatics see what we intend as a church government. Besides, it was but requisite, that church which had so long suffered, should now, (in the chief of it,) receive all the honours we could confer on it. My lord chancellor, [Sir M. Eustace,] for some days dissented therein, but at last concurred; and this day my lord primate sat in that character."*

In this parliament the primate was both alert and efficient in promoting the cause of the church and the interests of the clergy, and his efforts were expressly recognised by a solemn vote in the convocation. The parliament, indeed, appears to have been favourably inclined, as their first act was a declaration, requiring conformity to the church and liturgy as established by law. They are said to have proceeded thus early in this matter, as there was an apprehension of opposition from the dissenters so soon as their estates should be secured.† Other acts indicative of the same spirit may be here omitted, having been for the most part already noticed

During the continuance of this parliament, a false alarm was excited by a letter, dated November 18th, and purporting to be written by a priest, named James Dermot, to another, named James Phelan. This was sent to the lords-justices, and contains complaints of the obstinacy of their enemies, in not returning to the obedience of the holy see, holding out prospects of freedom, and recommending that care should be taken to preserve their arms for the time of using them which was near, &c. This letter was the means of exciting alarm, and causing rigorous proceedings to be proposed; but the primate at once suspected and early pronounced it to be an imposture. To expose the truth he advised to have the two priests sent for: this was done, and many circumstances appear to have confirmed the primate's suspicion, although it was not found an easy matter to quiet the zeal of the government functionaries or the strong fears of the protestants; and the priests were treated with undeserved suspicion and protracted inquiry before the affair was set at rest.

On the 31st May, 1661, by an order of the house of commons, the master of the wards waited upon the primate to request, that he would

* Carte's Life of Ormonde, and Orrery's State Letters. † Life of Ormonde.

administer the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper to the members: the primate, in compliance, appointed for the purpose the Sunday fortnight, in St Patrick's cathedral; and the Friday previous to that day he also appointed for a sermon, preparatory for the occasion. The sermon was on the subject of repentance, as testified by the forsaking of former sins, and was printed in accordance with a request of the house.

On the 25th June, 1663, the church was deprived, by death, of this most able, judicious, and efficient of her servants. Some, like Usher, may have deserved more highly the praise of comprehensive and profound learning; some, like Bedell, may be more venerable for saintly devotion; and some, like Taylor, may be illustrious for the splendid combination of unrivalled eloquence with these eminent gifts. But for the solid judgment which directs, and the moral virtues of firmness and industrious perseverance which hold on through the oppositions and difficulties of circumstance; for the sagacious estimate of the wants and workings of institutions, and the practical ability and energy to carry into effect the necessary expedients for improvement, reform, or defence; few churchmen may justly claim a fuller or worthier tribute of praise than Bramhal. "He was," in the language of Taylor, "a man of great business and great resort. He divided his life into labour and his book. He took care of his churches when he was alive, and even after his death, left five hundred pounds for the repair of his cathedral of Armagh, and St Peter's church in Drogheda. He was an excellent scholar and rarely well accomplished; first, instigated to great excellency by natural parts, and then consummated by study and experience."

Heber MacMahon.

DIED A. D. 1660.

HEBER MACMAHON was the Romish bishop of Clogher: we have not found any authentic materials for even the most cursory sketch of his history; but he was a man of talent, virtue, and wisdom. Although his character and even his name have sunk into the obscurity of his stormy period, only known in the record of those deeds of prominent evil or good which such periods bring forth; yet if truth, honesty, and wisdom, are entitled to superior praise when found among the fanatic, the false, and the deluded, few of his day are more deserving of a place among the illustrious than MacMahon.

It was sometime in the year 1649, when the original party of the Irish rebellion had been worn by its dissensions and disasters, but still was sustained in a protracted existence by the general confusion of the kingdom, and the absence of the powers of constitutional control. The cross waves and currents of the civil wars in England had come into collision with the Irish rebellion, and a confused war of parties and party leaders was kept up, in which every party looked to its own objects. In this medley of force and fraud, all the varied objects of

every party were gradually beginning to be lost in the predominance of that, most uncontrolled by any principle, most reckless in conduct, and ruinous in design, headed by Owen O'Neale and other leaders of the same class, who were endeavouring to hold out in the possession of their lawless robber force, until the weakness of all the rest should place the kingdom at their mercy.

Of these, it was the obvious policy to sell their arms to highest bidders, to make individually the best bargains for present advantage, to keep the strife alive, and, whatever way matters might fall out, to be on terms with the uppermost. The consequence was, that while a bloody and fearful retribution was preparing for this hapless and infatuated nation, the two main parties were in a manner doomed to look on in a nearly defenceless condition, and to endeavour to make such terms, as their means afforded, with the lawless hordes whom the appetite for plunder and the love of license attached to their leaders.

In this state of things, the nuncio of the papal see—the impetuous, vain, obstinate, and weak Rinuncinini, laboured to maintain a sinking cause. Incapable of perceiving the actual tendency of events, and dead to the warnings of present circumstances, he resented the defection of many, and the caution of others of the papal ecclesiastics, who saw more distinctly the crushed condition of the country, and the failure of all their resources. The supreme council of Kilkenny had been disarmed of its assumed authority, so soon as it manifested a disposition to peace, and lay under the excommunications and interdicts of the nuncio. Among the more moderate and informed of every party, there was a just sense of the necessity of a speedy termination to such a state of things, and a conviction of the alternative which was daily assuming a more certain and formidable aspect, in the increasing strength and resources of the parliamentary power.

The Romish prelates in Ireland met at Clonmacnoise, to deliberate on the course most expedient in such a juncture. They were, however, variously inclined, and met with many differences both of view and purpose. Sensible, for the most part, of the necessity of the peace, they were not equally so, as to the manner and means to be pursued: with some, the influence of the nuncio prevailed; some could not acquiesce in the compromise essential to agreement; but with the body, the intrigues, misrepresentations, and flighty pretensions of the marquess of Antrim prevailed.

In such an assembly it was that the ascendant ability of Heber MacMahon turned the scale. To his clear and sagacious observation, everything appeared in its real form, unclouded by the illusions of party feeling and party artifice. He saw the iron hand of the armed commonwealth freed from the restraints which it had shattered along with the monarchy, and already uplifted to subdue and crush all other pretensions to revolt: he saw the people who had been betrayed into a wild and mad resistance, broken and prostrated—deserted, betrayed, and scattered into irretrievable helplessness and suffering: he felt the ruin and dilapidation which covered and rendered desolate the entire aspect of the kingdom in every direction. Perhaps, too, looking back on the history of his country, he saw in that ruinous scene of things a repetition of that cycle of perpetual folly and wickedness, followed

by vengeance and the tyranny of distrust, which had dwarfed the prosperity of the kingdom; nor are such suppositions merely conjectural, as he was in habits of intimacy with the wisest statesman and truest patriot of his age and country, James, first duke of Ormonde.

Of MacMahon's conduct on this occasion, Carte has given the following account. After detailing the crimes and intrigues of the marquess of Antrim, he proceeds to say, "at this time the bishop of Clogher baffled all his measures; and as by his conversation of late with his excellency, we had formed the highest opinion, as well of his talents for government, as of his zeal for the good of his country, he represented him in such a light to the assembly, that he either instilled into them the same opinion, or silenced and deterred them from asserting the contrary. The lord-lieutenant indeed treated this bishop with very great respect, on account of the power which he had with the Ulster Irish, and conversed with him on the affairs of the kingdom very frequently, with great freedom and familiarity. He was a man of better sense than most of his brethren, and saw the absolute necessity of the whole nation uniting as one man for their defence; for which reason he laboured so hard with this congregation of the clergy, that he got them at last to enter into a superficial union, for burying all that was past in oblivion, to declare that no security for life, fortune, or religion, could be expected from Cromwell, to express their detestation of all animosities between the old Irish, English, or Scots royalists, and their resolution to punish all the clergy who should be found to encourage them."*

Of the bishops who joined in a declaration to this effect, the greater part were rather influenced by the superior reason, than thorough converts to the views of MacMahon; and on separating, many of them neglected to enforce or follow up their declaration, while some proceeded directly in the contrary spirit. Yet such an instrument was in itself well adapted to produce serviceable impressions, and not the less highly indicates the character of the source from which it virtually came. Such in truth was the only value of the act: the time of repentance was past, and no virtue or wisdom could save the people from the infliction which was to come.

Not long after, according to agreement with the province of Ulster, the marquess of Ormonde gave a commission to MacMahon,† to command in that province. The nature of this agreement was, that, in case of the death of Owen O'Neale, the nobility and gentry of Ulster should have the nomination of one to command in his stead. This event having taken place, they chose MacMahon; and their appointment was confirmed by the marquess, on the ground of the "care, judgment, valour, and experience in martial affairs, as also the leading and good affections of you to do his majesty service, have nominated and appointed, and hereby do nominate and appoint you, the said Bishop Ever MacMahon, to be general of all his majesty's said forces of horse and foot of the province of Ulster, native of this kingdom," &c.

In virtue of this commission, the bishop proceeded to the discharge of his new, but, perhaps, more appropriate functions, with vigour and

* Carte, i. 105.

† Ormonde's Letter, dated May, 1660.

skill, against the parliamentary troops, which he contrived to annoy in every quarter of the province, by skirmishing parties of all dimensions. After sometime, however, he was attacked by Coote: the conflict was severe, and at first, for a while, victory appeared to incline to the Irish: in the end, superior discipline obtained some advantage for the parliamentary troops, when their cavalry decided the day. The bishop rode with a small party of horse from the field—the next day he was met by major King from Enniskillen, and attacked—he defended himself with heroic bravery, and it was not till after he was disabled by numerous wounds that he was taken prisoner. He was soon afterwards hanged by the order of Sir Charles Coote.

James Margetson, Primate.

CONSECRATED A. D. 1660.—DIED A. D. 1670.

MARGETSON was born in 1600, in Yorkshire, and graduated in Cambridge, from whence he was promoted to the living of Watley in Yorkshire. That his conduct in this parish was in every respect worthy, is proved by the fact that he had the good fortune to attract the notice and approbation of Wentworth, than whom none was more likely to form a just estimate either of the man or the christian teacher. Afterwards, in 1633, when Wentworth came over as lord-deputy, he prevailed on Margetson to resign his Yorkshire preferment, and attend him into Ireland as chaplain. In two years after, he presented him with the rectory and vicarage of Annagh, in the diocese of Kilmore. From this, in the next four years, his promotion was rapid, as he was successively advanced to the deanery of Waterford, of Derry, and finally, in 1639, of Christ Church in Dublin; and, at the same time, pro vice-chancellor of the university, and prolocutor of the lower house of convocation.*

In the rebellion of 1641, his charity and zeal were amply manifested by his liberal benevolence to the sufferers. All that could be done in that dreadful period, by those who were in any way exempted from the general calamity, was the alleviation of the privations and afflictions from which none escaped but those who were protected by arms and fortified walls.

In 1647, he joined in the declaration made in answer to a message from the parliamentary commissions, and substantially proposing the substitution of the Directory for the Book of Common Prayer. From the tyranny of this party, now completely masters of the city, he found it necessary to make his escape; and, like many others, he sought a refuge in England, but found none. After much fatigue and repeated alarms, he was taken prisoner; and having been first shut up in Manchester gaol, he was hurried, according to the turns of party, from prison to prison. After some time, he was released, in exchange for some military officers, and proceeded to London, where he had the best chance of passing unnoticed in the crowd. In seeking safety, Marget-

* Dalton's Bishops.

son by no means counted on any compromise of his duty, should it in any way present itself. The reputation of his integrity and charitable deeds had gone before him; and many, whose benevolence or regard for the loyal cause was greater than their courage, were glad to find one whom they could intrust with the means of relieving the distressed and persecuted loyalists. He did not shrink from the great dangers, and still greater fatigues and hardships, attendant on that ministry of mercy and loyalty; but made repeated and most hazardous journeys through the kingdom, bearing needful relief to numerous parties, both of the clergy and laity. Among those who were thus indebted to his courageous charity was Chappel, bishop of Cork and Ross, who, like himself, had been driven from Ireland. In such a tour, and at such a time, when every part of the country lay involved in some impending terror, it must be easy to apprehend that many strange and singular adventures may have occurred, which might have supplied materials for a diary more instructive and curious than could otherwise easily be put together. The worthy Dean had indeed something else to think of; but among the incidents of his pilgrimage, one is mentioned which bears upon a question which has been the subject of considerable controversy. It is mentioned by his biographer that "he happened on a gentleman sick and on his death-bed, to whom he administered spiritual comfort, together with the holy offices of the church on such occasions. By that dying person he was told, that he had been sometimes one near on attendance on that late sacred martyr, King Charles the First, in his solitude; that to him had been by the King delivered, and committed to his charge and care to be preserved, those papers, which he said he knew to have been written by the king's own hand, and which were after published with the title of ΕΙΚΟΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ.*" The Bishop has not named this person, so that it is not easy to conjecture whether or not the anecdote can be considered as additional testimony on this ancient and curious controversy, of which the reader may well happen to be forgetful. After the Restoration, a person of the name of Gauden, who had been in some way employed in conveying the sheets to the press, claimed the authorship, and was believed by the King, the Duke of York, and Clarendon. But it was not until forty years after the event, when all parties who could have been considered as authority were dead, that the question was in any way made public. It has been frequently since revived; and, considered simply with reference to the external evidence on either side, offers vast, and we believe, insurmountable difficulty. But we have little doubt in saying that the balance is clearly against Dr Gauden, as all his witnesses evidently derive their authority from himself, or from those who, like him, had some immediate personal interest in the preferment which he claimed on the merit of the book. It is remarkable that Gauden cuts the ground from under his own feet, as the act to which he lays claim involves at the outset a most shameful and infamous fraud: his advocate must set out by claiming for him a character unworthy of credit, in order to prove a gross improbability on his testimony. Having had no previous intimacy with the fastidious and haughty monarch, who

* Cited by Mr Dalton, *Life of Margetson*.

in confinement stood on terms approaching defiance with his foes, he came to propose to him to risk his reputation, sacrifice his pride, and violate all sense and principle of honour, by the gratuitous baseness of taking false credit for a book, to the composition of which he is allowed to have been himself fully competent. Then, following the well-known course of literary impostures, he takes the time favourable to his purpose; and when it has become unlikely that he can be authoritatively contradicted, he reveals his pretended service, with cautious stipulations of profound and inviolable secrecy, of which the manifest purpose was to prevent the lying secret from reaching the ears of a few venerable persons, who would quickly have exposed the miserable scandal. And having done so, he pressed, with a most ferocious disregard of all decency, for a bishopric, which he obtained. The Earl of Clarendon, the King, and the Duke of York, could have no direct knowledge of the truth. The royal brothers, both alike indifferent to truth, were no friends to the real reputation of their father, and not displeased to see transferred from his memory, a book the substance of which was but reproach to their whole conduct and characters. Clarendon had always professed to believe the book to be the production of the King; and when he received the guilty revelation of the scheming and mitre-hunting Gauden, it was under the seal of the most inviolable secrecy—a secrecy which, we may observe, was in no way objectionable to any party then concerned. Against a testimony little removed from infamous, we should consider that of Levet, the king's affectionate and intelligent page, who never left him during the time assigned to the composition of this work, to be far more than equivalent. "I myself very often saw the king write that which is printed in that book, and did daily read the manuscript of his own hand, in many sheets of paper; and seldom that I read it but tears came from me: and I do truly believe that there is not a page in that book but what I have read, under the King's own hand, before it was printed." To this is added, from the same authority, the evidence of several persons—the printer, the corrector of the press, and the book-seller, who speak to the handwriting, as ascertained from other documents. These, with the assertions of Bishops Inson and Earle, we should consider as decisive in the scale of testimony. As for the host of indirect testimonies, which we cannot here notice on either side, we surmount the difficulties by considering them all as amounting to no calculable value. We know too well the various resources of such frauds, not to know the impossibility, after a little time of silence, of tracing the various trains of contrived accident and seemingly unthought-of confirmation which may be laid by one who is allowed to wait his time, and work in darkness for an end unforesight of but by himself. But if, instead of this digression, we were engaged in the full discussion of this *vexata questio*, we must confess that the internal probability has impressed us, some years ago, in an actual perusal of the *εἰς τὸν βασιλῆα*, with a force that rejects all doubt. The whole texture of the book is the most peculiarly characteristic emanation, bearing the very living stamp of the author's mind—a mind utterly beyond the reach of Gauden's coarse and low-toned spirit to conceive, and breathing the whole sentiment and affections suited to the character

and actual position of the royal sufferer, whose powers of composition are otherwise known to have been such, as renders unaccountable and absurd, the notion that he should have sullied the dignity of which he was so tenacious, so far as to be the accomplice of a superfluous imposture. We can here only add, what should not be omitted, that we must believe there could have been no contest upon such a question, but from the strong anxiety of a party, in everything to lower the character of Charles I.

When the Restoration, after an interval of ten years, once more revived the drooping and prostrate condition of the church in this kingdom, Margetson was appointed to the metropolitan see of Dublin, and was one of the eleven bishops consecrated by primate Bramhal, on the 27th January 1660, as mentioned in the life of that prelate. In 1662, he had occasion to enforce the principle of pulpit-jurisdiction, which has been warmly canvassed in our own times, for which reason we must here decline entering into the controversy, which would lead us far into the discussion of principles more applicable to the church of Ireland in its present state, than to the age of bishop Margetson. We may but observe, that in our own times the reasons for enforcing that degree of episcopal authority which is affirmed in the 28th and 29th of our canons, has been rendered apparent enough by cases in which infidelity has contrived to find its way into the pulpit; while the limitation of that jurisdiction which we think equally deducible from those canons, seems not to be altogether superfluous when the political character of the times must always expose us to the risk of bishops who may feel more inclined to repress than to promote the spiritual advance of the church.

During the short interval of Margetson's tenure of the see of Dublin, his liberality was shown in ample contributions to the repair of the two cathedrals. But on Bramhal's death in 1663, he was by the advice of that able and sagacious prelate, translated to Armagh; and shortly afterwards he was appointed vice-chancellor of the university.

It is unnecessary here to pursue a career only marked by the same course of public events which we have already had to repeat. Margetson died in 1678, with the praise of all good men; as one who had discharged the important duties of his high office, which that rare combination of strictness and charity, which won for him from his clergy that respect tempered by love, which belongs to the parental relation. In him, severity when needful came so softened by affectionate regret, that it was felt by the person on whom it fell to come from the office and not from the man, and to bear the sanctity of just authority without any alloy of anger. He was not less mild and paternal in the rule of the church, than firm and uncompromising in her defence, and in the maintenance of her interests and lawful rights, never failing either in the council or in the parliament to advocate and maintain them under all the varied assaults of that age of trial and emergency.

He was interred in Christ church.

John Leslie, Bishop of Clogher.

CONSECRATED A. D. 1628—DIED A. D. 1671.

THE family of Leslie originated in Hungary at a very early period, and became in the course of many generations diffused into most parts of Europe. In their native country the family rose to high distinction, and gave many illustrious names to history. In the year 1067, when queen Margaret came to Scotland, Bertholdus Leslie came in her train, and obtained the favour of Malcolm III., who gave him his own sister in marriage, with large grants of land, and the command of the castle of Edinburgh, which he had bravely defended against the king's enemies. He was afterwards raised to the earldom of Ross; and gave rise to many noble families in the Scottish peerage.

The family of Leslie, in Ireland, is descended from William Leslie, fourth baron of Wardis in Scotland, who for his personal agility obtained the post of grand falconer to James IV. of Scotland. Of his sons, two gave origin to Irish families; James, whose grandson married into the family of Conyngham; and George, whose son the Rev. John Leslie, is the subject of our present sketch.

He was born in 1572, in Scotland, and when about thirty-two, went abroad to complete his education by foreign travel. He visited Spain, Italy, and Germany, and having passed into France, was induced, by what reason we have not discovered, to reside there for many years. He was probably induced to this prolonged sojourn, by the facilities for study not yet to be found at home, and which that country then afforded; and this conjecture is confirmed by the fact, that he attained a high and honourable proficiency in the learning of that period; and in a not less remarkable degree, a command of the continental tongues. He remained abroad for twenty-two years, and came home, we may presume, with a high reputation from the foreign schools. He was consecrated bishop of Orkney, having then attained the advanced age of fifty-six. He obtained doctor's degree in Oxford, and not long after came over to Ireland with his cousin James. He was made a denizen of Ireland, and in 1633 appointed a privy-counsellor, and bishop of Raphoe.

During his continuance in this see, he recovered a third of its estate from those of the gentry of the diocese who wrongfully held the bishop's lands. He also erected an episcopal palace, which enabled him not only to stand his ground through the troubles which shortly after broke out, but to take a bold and distinguished part—not only stemming the first fury of the rebels, but resisting, with not less vigour and success, the more organized and powerful arms of Cromwell. His spirit and vigour induced the government to offer him a military command—this he refused as inconsistent with his sacred calling. But his refusal had in it no touch of weakness; and when the emergency of the occasion appeared to demand, he performed the duties of a brave and able leader, in defence of the protestant people of Ireland.

On one occasion this spirited old man displayed a spirit which ap-

proaches more near to the heroism of the ancient Greek warrior, than an aged christian prelate. When the parliamentary forces began to obtain a superiority in the war, the bishop collected a force among his neighbours, and advanced to the defence of a mountain-pass on the road from Raphoe to Maharabeg in Donegal, where Sir Ralph Gore lay besieged—expecting the approach of the enemy, he is reported to have dropped on his knees on the roadside, and in the hearing of his men uttered the following very singular prayer:—"Almighty God! unto whom all hearts be open, thou knowest the righteousness of the cause we have in hand, and that we are actuated by the clearest conviction that our cause is just; but as our manifold sins and wickedness are not hid from thee, we presume not to claim thy protection, trusting in our own perfect innocence; yet if we be sinners, they are not saints; though then thou vouchsafest not to be with us, be not against us, but stand neuter this day, and let the arm of the flesh decide it." This strange and misconceived effusion of piety may be excused by the excitement of the occasion—for the characteristic heroism which it seems to breathe it may remind the reader of the address of Ajax, so much admired in the Iliad. "O Father Jove, free from this darkness the sons of the Greeks; grant clear day, and let us behold our enemies: if it be your will that we shall perish, let us die in the daylight."* The enemy came shortly on, and were defeated, and the neighbouring country thus delivered from much severe calamity.

Bishop Leslie was soon after besieged by Cromwell in his palace; but this having been built with military foresight of such dangers, his resistance was successful. He was the last person in his country who held out against the parliamentary forces. When the liturgy was prohibited, he used it in his own household, and amid all the dangers of the time, steadily and openly maintained his episcopal character, and performed the offices of a prelate and bishop of his church wherever occasion required.

This brave and pious bishop died in 1671, at his house (or castle) of Glaslough, in his hundredth year, having been, according to his biographers, fifty years a bishop; though, looking to the dates which they give of his consecration and death, the time appears to be something less, as his consecration as bishop of Orkney was in 1628, from which to his death, in 1671, amounts to no more than 43 years.

Bishop Leslie left two sons, of whom one, Charles Leslie, dean of Connor, was eminent in the next generation.

* We have not translated literally, but the original is as follows:—

Ζεῦ πάτερ ἄλλα σὺ ῥῦσαι ὧν' ἦρες υἱας Ἀχαιῶν,
Ποίησον δ' αἶψαν, δις δ' ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἰδίσθαι,
Ἐν δὲ φάει καὶ ἄλλισσιν, ἵππὶ γό ται εὐαδὲν ὄντας.

Iliad xvii. 645.

Jeremy Taylor.

BORN A. D. 1613.—DIED A. D. 1667.

In the year 1555, it is known that the statutes of earlier reigns, from Richard II., against the Lollards, the earliest protestants of England, were revived by the bigotry of queen Mary, and carried into a fearful and atrocious execution by those merciless and miscreant apostates, Bonner and Gardiner. Among the exalted and worthy prelates and ministers of the church of England, who obtained the martyr's crown in that season of trial, was Rowland Taylor, the chaplain of the illustrious Cranmer, and rector of Hadleigh in Suffolk. This worthy servant of God had the fortune to have a neighbour, the rector of the next parish, a man of pliant conscience, who, like all such, was perhaps ready to veer and turn with the wind of preferment and power, without any very conscious sacrifice of principle. Of this person it is mentioned, that, in the fervour of his zeal to comply with the new court doctrines, he was not content to celebrate the mass in his own parish of Aldham, but resolving to convert also the parishioners of Hadleigh, he seized possession of the church. When Taylor received the information of this outrage, he quickly repaired to the scene. A crowd of the people, who had been attracted by curiosity and other feelings, stood outside: the door was locked, and Taylor had to make his way through a side entrance. On entering the church, he found his neighbour dressed in the attire of the church of Rome, and standing before the communion table ready for that service so irreconcilable with any of the reformed churches, and surrounded by a guard of soldiers. Taylor was unsupported by the presence of any of his own parishioners, who were locked out; but he was a man of firm and warm temper, and not less zealous than the fiery renegade who had intruded into his church. "Thou devil," said he, "who made thee so bold as to enter this church of Christ?" The intruder replied—"Thou traitor, what doest thou here, to let and disturb the queen's proceedings?"—"I am no traitor, but the shepherd whom God hath appointed to feed his flock in this place. I have therefore authority here; and I command thee, thou popish wolf, in the name of God, to avoid coming hence," retorted Taylor. But the rector of Aldham and his party were not to be moved by words; they put Taylor forcibly out of the church, and fastened the door by which he had entered. The people who surrounded the building, when they perceived that violence had been used, had recourse to stones, but could do nothing more than break the church windows. The party within completed their commission, and, being regular soldiers, came away without effective opposition. From this act of resistance, no very serious apprehensions were perhaps at first entertained by Taylor, who probably contemplated deprivation as the extreme consequence to which he might be subjected by persisting in his duty: the law was yet in his favour, as the occurrence happened a little before the revival of the statutes above mentioned; and there was a seeming security in the known

sense of the English people. Such a reliance is, indeed, mostly illusive; it is seldom considered that it requires a considerable time to call national feeling into action, and that great and sudden exertions of arbitrary power are always more likely to amaze and prostrate, than to awaken the slow process of popular concentration. The queen, inflamed by a morbid and fanatic temper, and urged by the bigots of a persecuting creed, acted with decision. The protection of law was easily withdrawn; and when the statutes of the dark ages were revived, Taylor was urged by his friends to escape from a danger which was now easily foreseen; but the brave and devoted man rejected such counsel. He told his friends—"I am now old, and have already lived too long to see these terrible days. Flee you, and act as your consciences lead. I am fully determined to face the bishop, and tell him to his beard that he doth naught." His courage was not long to remain untried. He was brought before the lord-chancellor Gardiner who degraded the office of a bishop, and the seat of British equity, to give weight to the Satanic mission of an inquisitor. When confronted with his judge, Taylor asked him, in a solemn and unmoved tone, how he could venture to appear before the judgment-seat, and answer to the Judge of souls for the oaths he had taken under Henry and Edward. Gardiner answered, that these were Herod's oaths, and to be broken; that he had acted rightly in breaking them, and wished that Taylor would follow the example. The trial was not of long duration; for Taylor admitted the charges that he was married, and held the mass to be idolatrous. He was committed to prison, where the savage Bonner came to deprive him of his priesthood. Here another characteristic scene occurred. It was necessary that Bonner should strike him on the breast with his crosier. When about to perform this ceremonial, his chaplain told the bishop—"My lord, strike him not, for he will surely strike again." "Yea, by St Peter, will I," was the stout old man's reply. "The cause is Christ's, and I were no good Christian if I refused to fight in my Master's quarrel." His sentence was the stake; and on the 9th February, 1656, he was brought out to be burned before his parishioners at Hadley. He was put into a pitch barrel, before a large crowd of afflicted spectators, whose outraged feelings were restrained by a cruel soldiery. Before fire was set to the barrel in which this martyr stood, an unknown hand among the soldiers threw a fagot at his head, with such force as to make the blood stream down his face. When he felt the flames, he began to repeat the fifty-first Psalm—"Have mercy on me, O God, after thy great goodness; according to the multitude of thy mercies, do away mine offences. Wash me thoroughly from my wickedness, and cleanse me from my sin. For I acknowledge my faults; and my sin is ever before me. Against thee only have I sinned, and done this evil in thy sight," &c. He was interrupted by a stroke of a halbert in the mouth, and desired to pray in Latin. The anger, or compassion of one of his guards happily abridged his sufferings. While the fire was slowly increasing about his agonized frame, a merciful blow on the head knocked out his brains.

From this venerable martyr of the English church was lineally descended Nathaniel, the father of Jeremy Taylor. The suffering of

his venerable ancestor had entailed poverty on his descendants; as Gardiner, who had probably selected the victim for his estate, had obtained possession of it after his death; and Nathaniel Taylor held a station in life more lowly than might be presumed. He was a barber-surgeon—a profession which, though very far below the rank of the surgeon of modern science, was no less above the barber of our time. Bishop Heber infers the respectability of his condition from his having filled the office of churchwarden, mostly held by wealthy and respectable persons. That he was not devoid of learning is ascertained from a letter written afterwards by his son, who mentions him “as reasonably learned, and as having himself solely grounded his children in grammar and mathematics.” *

He was, it is supposed, sent at an early age to a grammar school in Cambridge, in which his progress is not traced, and entered the university in his thirteenth year, as a sizar in Caius college. There too, but indistinct and scanty notices remain of the course of reading he may have pursued. It does not appear from his writings, or from the known incidents of his life and conversation, that he made any considerable progress in mathematical science then, as since ardently cultivated in Cambridge. Yet the study of the mathematical science, as it then existed, would have filled but a small cell in the wide and all-contemplative mind of Taylor; and we cannot easily conclude that any part of ancient learning so gratifying to the intellect, and even attractive to the speculative imagination, should not have been followed and mastered by one who entered already grounded in the science. But many high talents were combined in Taylor, and we cannot conceive him long detained by the mere science of quantity and position; for the reader must recollect that the foundations of applied science had not been yet laid. But he was doubtless industrious in the acquisition of the multifarious knowledge which gleams copiously diffused through his style. It is generally related, on the authority of one who was his friend, that he obtained a fellowship in his own college, after taking his bachelor's degree, in 1631. But Heber, who was in possession of fuller and more authoritative accounts, cites Mr Bonney, who denies that there is any proof for such an assertion.

Shortly after taking his master's degree, he was admitted into holy orders; and an incident soon occurred which brought him into notice, and laid the first step of his advancement. He had among his college-intimates a friend named Ridsen, who had a little before obtained a lectureship in St Paul's cathedral. Having occasion to absent himself for some time, he applied to Taylor to fill his place until his return. Taylor consented, and soon became the object of that admiration which ever followed his preaching. Besides the power, brilliancy, and varied effect of his style; the grace of his person, and youthful sweetness and dignity of his countenance, heightened the charm of an eloquence unprecedented in the pulpit; and with these, “perhaps,” writes Heber, “the singularity of a theological lecturer, not twenty years of age, very soon obtained him friends and admirers.” His fame soon reached the palace of Lambeth, and Laud sent for him to preach before him there.

* Heber.

He attended, preached, and was approved. But the archbishop was no less judicious than zealous in his encouragement of learning and piety: he thought it would be of far more advantage, in both respects, that Taylor should remain some time longer in his college. In order that he might more effectually be enabled to serve him, the archbishop thought it desirable to remove him to Oxford, in which he had himself considerable influence, having spent most of his life there, and some authority, being a visitor at the university. Some interval is supposed by Heber to have elapsed between the first interview here mentioned and the latter circumstance, during which Taylor may have prosecuted his studies at Maidley Hall, near Tamworth, according to a tradition still current in that vicinity. On October 20th, 1635, he was admitted in University college, Oxford, to the same rank which he had held in Cambridge; in three days after, a letter from Laud recommended him to succeed a Mr Osborn, who was about to give up his fellowship. This recommendation, however influential it might be with many, was naturally counteracted by that strong and salutary corporate feeling, which renders such bodies jealous of independence and in some degree exclusive. Taylor had scarcely obtained the character of an Oxfordman ten days; and unfortunately the statutes then required three years standing in the candidates. Laud argued that the degree of master conveyed the privileges of the standing which it implied: and the fellows were inclined to assent. The opposition of the warden, Dr Sheldon, defeated the object proposed, and in consequence no election took place at the time—and the nomination thus appears to have lapsed to the archbishop, in his visitorial capacity. In virtue of this power, he appointed Taylor to the vacant fellowship, on the 14th of January, 1636. The history of this incident seems to have been much involved in difficulties, which we think unnecessary to state, as the recent and popular memoir of Taylor by Bishop Heber, which we mainly follow, investigates the question with great fulness and sufficient authority, and, we think, explains the grounds of his decision satisfactorily. The bishop concludes his statement with the remark, that “the conduct of Sheldon, throughout the affair, seems to have been at once spirited and conscientious; but it may have been marked by some degree of personal harshness towards Taylor, since we find that, for some years after, a coolness subsisted between them, till the generous conduct of the warden produced, as will be seen, a sincere and lasting reconciliation.”

Taylor was thus placed in a position of all others perhaps the most favourable to the pursuits, as well as to the prospects, of a young student in divinity, who has talents to cultivate and a love of literature as it then subsisted. It was a time when the productive energies of the human intellect had not yet been called, otherwise than slightly and partially into operation—or even the right modes and processes of such a development been more than intimated to the mind of the day. The tendency, therefore, of the highest and brightest intellect was rather to gather and accumulate from the vast spread stores of the learning of antiquity and the middle ages, than to spend its power on such vague efforts at invention, as mere speculative investigations were only sure to produce. Hence the vast and seemingly inexhaustible treasures of

erudition which give to Hooker, &c. &c., the colossal amplitude, which has been so often observed by modern critics. These giants, as they are not unaptly termed, were fully engaged in extricating from the quarry, in rough-hewing and drawing into orderly arrangement, the ponderous materials, on which so many and magnificent structures have been raised. The profuse treasures of Greek and Roman antiquity; the comparatively unknown branches of oriental literature, which still demand the earnest cultivation of universities; the wide field of scholastic learning, from which purer and more compendious methods of reasoning and expression were then beginning to arise, according, perhaps, to the best models of the standard writers among the ancients. These offered a wide and sufficiently engrossing direction. But, in addition, vast revolutions in ecclesiastical and civil concerns were in their maturity of form ready to break out into action, at the call of circumstances. And questions of the most profound importance, and involving the very foundations of church and state, called forth the more available powers of learned men. The discussions which began yearly to acquire increasing interest were not, as now, met on points of seemingly slight detail, but at the fountain head. Hence the broad and comprehensive view of a whole question, from the first elements to the minutest ramifications of the argument—so that every discussion was an elementary treatise. This tendency was, it is true, augmented by the time hallowed dialectic of the schools, from which the art of reasoning was yet drawn, and the habits of the intellect formed. Hence the minute and nugatory distinctions and divisions, without substantial difference, which characterize the ablest pens. The comparative scarceness of elementary treatises, and indeed of books, either demanded or invited the digressive method which supposes every thing unknown, and leaves out nothing that may however remotely be involved in the main argument. Such were the main causes, and such the general state of literature, in the period on which we are now engaged. And we have thought it not unseasonable to advert to it here, as we are impressed with a strong sense of its relation to the intellectual frame of Taylor's genius—though we shall again have to notice the same facts, when we shall come to trace the relative character of the learning of this period and our own, and the transition from one to the other.

During his occupation of the fellowship, Taylor is said to have been much admired for his preaching, which Wood designates "casuistical;" but Heber comments on the term, by observing, that "few of his existing sermons can be termed 'casuistical.'" We should presume that Wood employs the term inaccurately, and rather to convey an impression than to describe precisely. A more important fact was the suspicion which started up, at this time, of his being privately inclined to the communion of the church of Rome,—a suspicion which haunted him through life. This groundless notion mainly arose from that absence of bigotry, which ever characterizes the higher order of Christians; sometimes, indeed, to the verge of that opposite extreme, which deserves the name of latitude. There is no subject so dangerous to touch on lightly, as the accusation or defence of those fierce extremes, into which human opinion seems to verge in opposite directions.

Truths which rather influence from habit than by reason, are held by nearly the same tenure as prejudices; and, therefore, in the very remotest allusion to bigotry, there is always a risk incurred of seeming to favour the opposite and worse extreme: worse, because it is better to adhere with a blind tenacity to truth and right, than blindly to reject them; and better to be a formalist, than to break down the barriers of divine and human institutions. The combative principle of our nature, in nothing appears more strongly, than in its union with the intellectual ardour for disputed opinions and tenets; but they, who, in support of a creed however holy, would "call down fire from heaven," may be truly answered with the divine rebuke, "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of." If, indeed, the hostile array of opposing churches were but to vie in the essential spirit, and endeavour to outshine each other in the genuine sanctity of Christian charity, there would, in the course of a little time, be an end of ecclesiastical contention. It must, however, in fairness be allowed, that as the rank of those who are Christians according to the Redeemer's own test,—“if ye love one another,”—is by no means commensurate with the church visible, in any of its forms, and that there is yet at least a spurious and powerful array of secular hostility, leagued against it on every side: it is, perhaps, therefore, providentially ordered, that the church can derive strength from the worldly passions, or the intellectual tendencies which cling together in support of institutions. The charge of bigotry is a missile which can be retorted indeed freely on every side—but unless when it involves the baser and darker passions of our nature we would say it is too indiscriminately applied, and is never so truly applicable in the worst sense, as to the shallow infidel who is the most ready to use it. In making this allowance, we may claim from the severe and rigid champion of tenets, some indulgence for the discriminative liberality of men like Bedel and Taylor, whose zeal against the errors of the church of Rome did not prevent their ready and cordial intercourse with such of its clergy as were otherwise worthy of respect and regard. There are protestant clergymen—and it is indeed for this reason we think it necessary to say so much on the point—who are so destitute of moral firmness, and so little built up in the knowledge of their profession, that they cannot be liberal without being lax, or charitable without feebleness, and a few weak individuals have allowed the vicious love of popularity to usurp the place of principle; such instances, we are glad to allow, are not frequent, but, a few instances of this nature are enough to exasperate prejudice, and lead to the confusion of ideas, so often contained in such reproaches as we have noticed. But on the high intellectual and spiritual level of a man like Taylor, opposition cannot take the form of narrow bigotry, or conciliation and charity that of low and feeble compromise. Mailed alike in the armour of righteousness, and supplied with the full resources of talent and knowledge—there was no room for any feeling opposed to a frank and ingenuous regard for an able and a good man, who might yet entertain errors, much to be deprecated. Great learning and superior understanding must command respect, and good qualities regard, even in an enemy, and the person who feels them not, is at least devoid of some of the nobler virtues of

human nature; but we cannot conceive an object of deeper or more anxious interest to a good mind, than an amiable, well-intentioned, humane, and gifted man, whom we know to be involved in unhappy and dangerous errors, which may, for any thing we can know to the contrary, place him under a most awful weight of spiritual responsibility—a feeling which must be heightened much by the consideration, should it have place, that he is the object of severe human enactments, (even though just and politic,) and of the prejudices of the vulgar, whose feelings, however rightly directed, are seldom placed upon the just grounds. At the period of his life, in which we are now engaged, Taylor is mentioned to have lived on terms of intimacy with a learned Franciscan, known by the appellation of Francis a Sancta Clara, but whose real name was Christopher Davenport; and of whom, Heber gives the following brief account:—"He was born of protestant parents, and, with his brother John, entered, at an early age, in the year 1613, as battler or poor scholar of Merton college. The brothers, as they grew up, fell into almost opposite religious opinions. John became first a violent puritan, and at length an independent. Christopher, two years after his entrance at Merton, being then only seventeen years old, fled to Douay with a Romish priest, and took the vows of Francis of Assisi. He rambled for some years through the universities of the Low countries and of Spain; became reader of divinity at Douay, and obtained the degree of doctor. At length he appeared as a missionary in England, where he was appointed one of Queen Henrietta's chaplains, and during more than fifty years, secretly laboured in the cause of his religion." We further learn, that, although his great ability led to his promotion, and preserved to him the confidence of the papal cabinet, yet his known liberality of sentiment and the conciliatory spirit, which is said to have appeared throughout his writings, drew upon him a general distrust among the members of his own church. One of his books entitled "*Deus, Natura, Gratia*," had the honour to find a place in the *Index Expurgatorius* of Spain, and narrowly escaped being burnt in Italy.* He spent much of his time in Oxford, among the learned men of which he had many friends, and often found refuge there in the stormy times through which he lived. He died at a very advanced age, in 1680.

Such friendships, however consistent with firm and consistent adherence to Taylor's own church, could not in such times escape misconstruction. An intimacy with the same person was afterwards, in 1643, one of the charges which brought Laud to the block.† The friar, in his conversation, very naturally spoke of Taylor, as of one whose opinions tended very much to an agreement with his own: it is easily understood, how two able men of different persuasions, may very much confine their communications either to those points on which they can agree, or at least in which they may not unreasonably hope to convince each other; and as easy to apprehend the mistake which is but too likely to arise from such conversations, when so much that is common is differently seen in relation to different principles. It is, therefore, no injustice to assume, that Davenport is most likely to have repre-

* Heber.

† Heylin, Book V. p. 40.

sented Taylor in such a manner, as could not fail to heighten much the prejudices which, in such times, would be excited by their acquaintance.

It was at a very advanced age, and, of course, many years after Taylor's death, and still further from the period of their intimacy, that Davenport told Wood how Taylor had some serious thoughts of being reconciled to the church of Rome, but that the Roman catholics rejected him on account of some offensive expressions, in a sermon which he preached at this time, on a fifth of November, in the university. Now, this is mere dotage, if not a very unwarrantable breach of truth; for, it appears that the unwarrantable expressions in question, are nothing less than a clear chain of reasoning, from which the preacher infers that the gunpowder plot was a consistent consequence from the tenets of the Romish church. That Taylor may have regretted and even apologised for such a sermon, proves nothing. He was vexed at finding himself compelled to give offence, by a statement which he would not have made if he did not think it just. The sermon was published with a dedication to Laud. Should we seem to dwell on this point at greater length than its importance may be thought by some to demand, we must plead that the charge was frequently renewed; and, considering the history of the times through which Taylor lived, was inferior to none in the risks to which its object must have been exposed. There is, indeed, a general and far more serious importance in the consideration of a question which involves the charge of a latitudinarian temper or conduct—liable to be made in every time—and of all accusations, perhaps most liable to be unfairly made—for the defect of popular judgments is want of the fair allowance which grows from just discrimination. As we would not, however, for a moment have it inferred, that we should wish to suggest any indulgence for the error opposed to that for which Taylor was falsely censured, we may briefly digress so far, as to draw some distinction between the two. Every observing man, who has some acquaintance with the educated portion of society, and who has been habituated to observe the moral and intellectual habits of men, will have often had occasion to notice two classes of minds, constituted oppositely in various degrees, though, for brevity, we may here describe their several extremes. Of these, the one may be described as exclusively theoretical; the other as exclusively practical. The one is uniformly governed by habits, maxims, and time-ruled cases, and proceeds without ever reverting to the first principles of things; the other dwells altogether in the reason, and is always reverting to primary laws, and original foundations. Of these, the first must be admitted to be the safer mode of error; because to preserve irrespectively, is safer than to trust the course of things to the ablest speculative interference. But both, in excluding a wide range of observation or principle, are essentially wrong in their understanding of every subject which has any object. The one is a bigot, and the other a mere projector: the bigot in his narrow scope considers only what is before him, but he may be useful and even wise in his practical capacity; the theorist is nearly sure to be wrong, so soon as he may chance to come into contact with the realities of life; for, though his logic may be quite correct, the

habits of his mind will, in most instances, exclude those facts of common observation which are the real *data* in every question of any practical weight. In truth, it must be considered, that in the practical workings of social life, there are processes of our nature, far too profound for any reach of mere speculation, and only to be taken into account effectively, by a comprehensive estimate of the habits, prejudices, and errors of the mass of mankind, as elements of chief importance; and there is no question of social or ecclesiastical polity to be treated like a metaphysical theory from which may be deduced a clear and systematic *rationale* of all the grounds for legislative interposition. The person who undertakes this is the latitudinarian,—he who irrespectively resists improvement is a bigot. A mind such as Taylor's, was too comprehensive and acute for either case—his commanding, pervading, and penetrating intellect, dispelled the cloud which blinds the reason—while the rich development of his imagination and moral perceptions and capacities placed before him the true aspect of human realities; the wide sea of life, with its mutable breezes and entangled cross-currents; its mingled good and evil, folly and wisdom, vice and virtue, truth and error; which are the great moving forces, acting with infinite diversity of opposition and combination. Such men, while they must be indulgent in their allowance for the errors of a being essentially liable to err, will, for the same reasons, exercise caution in the adoption or abandonment of opinions or systems of opinion. But in truth it is by a providential arrangement in the social economy, that the crowd hold their opinions by the safer operation of habit, rather than by reason, which would demand a far larger amount of natural intellect, as well as of intellectual cultivation, than consists with man's condition or the end of his present state of being. But it is also for this reason that men such as Taylor are very liable to be misjudged by the world. His biographers observe, that the suspicion of an inclination to the Romish church attended him through life. Heber observes, that the favour of Laud would of itself have exposed him to suspicion. We cannot here enter on the vindication of Laud. But it is a reflection naturally connected with the subject of these remarks, that in times of violent controversy, it is a familiar fact—as it would be an obvious inference from the preceding statements—that one of the most common missiles of controversy or of party, is the imputation of extreme errors. Such imputations are often pernicious and always unjust; unjust because false and mischievous; because they often happen to turn away the attention of the accuser and accused from fatal errors, which should constitute the true point of discussion between them. To take an illustration from the subject: if a person inclined to compromise so far with the Romish church, as to conform in some points of form or discipline, not considered on either side as essentially connected with doctrine, should be accused of a leaning to popery; it is evident that while this wrongful accusation continues to be enforced and defended, that the accused is not merely assailed in an impregnable position, but that the question of real and vast importance is meanwhile passed without notice; that is, to what extent the preservation of mere forms or of discipline may happen to be essential to the maintenance of essentials. In revolutionary times, when such questions and such ac-

cusations are ever sure to arise, clever persons of shallow judgment are ever tending to compromise on the very ground here noticed; and from the inveteracy of their opponents, their error escapes a full and direct exposure; the real question is never stated. It seems never to enter the minds of liberal reasoners, that though the adoption or rejection of a mere form may be harmless, or even beneficial—that a concession may be most fatal, in the direction of some prevalent current of human passion and prejudice. The question goes indeed beyond the depth of the intelligence mostly engaged in such controversies: it is not what is abstractedly the value of such a compromise, but considering human nature and the actual state of opinion, what will be its effect. Theologians, in the plenitude of their erudition, too little recollect that all such external arrangements have the complicated workings of our nature for their sole object.

We have dwelt on these reflections, because we conceive it to have too much real importance to very many persons in this country, where such intimacies and such mistakes are not uncommon. In such cases, the moral we would urge is;—not that there should be less delicacy or less conciliation, or a less careful tact in the avoiding of useless controversy; but, we would recommend a considerate forbearance from the common and always mischievous precipitation, by which such kindly and discreet liberality is confounded with that vicious liberalism, which, when justly considered, reduces itself to the entire want of principle in creed or party.

From this digression, we turn to our narrative. On this period of his life, Taylor's biographers have ascertained few facts. His advancement to the rectory of Uppingham, soon after the election to his fellowship, is thought to have drawn him away to a considerable extent from the university and its pursuits. With all his tastes and capacities for studious engagements, a spirit so ardent, and so largely diffused with the active impulses of the breast, is little likely to have lingered *inter sylvas academi* longer than the first moment which might offer a field of public and productive exertion. His fellowship was, however, in 1639, terminated by marriage, having on the 27th of May, in that year, married Phoebe Langsdale, whose mother, there is reason to believe, was at the time a widow residing in the parish of Uppingham. It is also known that her brother was a physician, resident at Gainsborough, and afterwards at Leeds, where he died in 1638.*

Here we may easily conjecture an interval of such happiness as results from the quiet rotation of studies, spiritual avocations, and domestic intercourse, for all of which the frame of Taylor's mind was so pre-eminently adapted. Such intervals have no history, save that tender and often painful record which they find in the after-seasons of trial and adversity, when they star the distance of past days with a calm and holy light, which no future short of heaven can restore. Such happiness and such reminiscences we can conceive for Taylor, who had truly "fallen on evil days." It is to these periods of trial mostly, and always in a measure to the rough and toilsome emergencies and difficulties of active life, that we are indebted for the broken and

* Heber, from Bonney's MS. Note.

defective notices which remain of the lives of the eminent men of this period; and but too often, even in the relation of the acts of the individual, there is little to be related more than the historical outline of those events to which these acts mainly belong. Of the fierce and eventful controversies which so soon broke in upon the peace of Uppingham, as of every other corner of the three kingdoms, we have repeatedly had to relate. The church and the monarchy were assailed by those awful and destructive commotions, which were not to cease until they had overthrown the existing order of things. Among those who earliest entered the field of controversy was Taylor. He was among the first of those who joined king Charles at Oxford; and it was "by his majesty's command" that he soon after published a treatise of "Episcopacy asserted against the Acephali, old and new." The work was at the time little noticed; for the controversy was to be decided by arms, before it should be discussed by the less effectual warfare of dialectics. But it found notice and approval among those who were afterwards to lead the argument; and king Charles, not inferior to any of his bishops in his judgment of the merits of a theological argument, showed his satisfaction by conferring upon the author the degree of D.D. by his legal mandate—an honour lessened, it is true, by the abuse of this royal privilege, to such an extent that the heads of the colleges felt themselves bound to remonstrate, against the numerous and somewhat indiscriminate admissions to academical degrees: but at the time they served to compensate for the king's inability to confer any other reward than such honours. His powers to reward were circumscribed indeed, while the injuries inflicted, or likely to be inflicted, upon his adherents, were great and imminent: the parliament, which trampled on the tyranny of kings with a fiercer tyranny of its own, spared no worth, or respected no right, if it were but qualified with the taint of loyalty. Taylor was deprived of the possession of his living of Uppingham, though there seems to be reason to doubt the fact of its actual sequestration. As the consequence was to him the same in either case, we shall not waste space here by entering upon the question, of which the main consideration will be found in the lives written by Heber and Bonney, as doubtless also in others.

Taylor had no duty, therefore, to interfere with the appropriation of his time. That which now mainly occupied him was in the flying court and camp of the king, to which, about this period, he was attached as one of the royal chaplains. This appointment he had obtained about the time of his institution to Uppingham; and it is supposed that it was in the autumn of 1642 that he left it to attend the court, when the king, after the battle of Edgehill, was on his route to Oxford. At Oxford there were at this time assembled, on the same occasion, many of the most illustrious persons of their time, for every virtue and attainment. We have already had to describe the preaching of Usher before the court in this interval. Hammond also was there; and amid his fears and privations, Taylor did not at least want that consolation so valuable to those who are susceptible of the intercourse of thought, the conversation and sympathy of spirits of his own elevated order. To a man like Taylor, the loss of property, or the fears of approaching troubles,

would indeed only serve, by the excitement of such external circumstances, as the means of calling forth higher powers of reflection, and loftier capacities of fortitude and endurance. But he had been severely visited about the same time, by afflictions far more trying to good and noble hearts—the loss of one of his sons, who died in the spring of the same year; “nor,” says Bishop Heber, “did the mother long survive her infant.”* We quote the bishop’s words, because on looking attentively through Mr Bonney’s memoir, which he here cites as authority, not only is there no mention of the first Mrs Taylor’s death, but, on carefully turning over the entire memoir, it is apparent that Mr Bonney was not aware of the fact, as he speaks throughout, under the impression that Taylor was not married again, and that this lady was the mother of his seven children, and sharer of his subsequent troubles and promotion. The bishop, however, not only cites Mr Jones’ MS. account, but confirms the fact by the authority of lady Wray, who, with Mr Jones of Henro, in the county of Down, were descendants in the fifth degree from the bishop and his second wife. Mr Bonney, indeed, draws a fallacious inference, from the number of his children, that the first wife was yet alive at a subsequent period; but the answer is, that three at least of those children were born of the second marriage.

As one of the royal retinue, Taylor is supposed to have accompanied the court in the frequent campaigns and expeditions of king Charles during the three following years, in which he kept his head-quarters at Oxford, and took his turns with Usher and Dr Sheldon as preacher. But after the fatal field of Naseby, the royal prospects were overcast, and the king became a fugitive, from which time the principal persons of his retinue were under the necessity of seeking their safety where they might best find it. During this uncertain period, Taylor appears to have experienced some adventures and wanderings, obscurely hinted at by his biographers. In 1643, a letter to his brother-in-law, which we shall here give as we find it in Mr Bonney’s book, makes it seem likely that he was then, with his mother-in-law and children, at lodgings in London.

“DEARE BROTHER,—Thy letter was most welcome to me, bringing the happy news of thy recovery. I had notice of thy danger, but watched for this happy relation, and had layd wayte with Royston to enquire of Mr Rumbould. I hope I shall not neede to bid thee be carefull for the perfecting of thy health, and to be fearful of a relapse: though I am very much, yet thou thyself art more concerned in it. But this I will remind thee of, that thou be infinitely [careful] to perform to God those holy promises which I suppose thou didst make in thy sicknesse; and remember what thoughts thou hadst then, and beare them along upon thy spirit all thy lifetime; for that which was true then is so still, and the world is really as vain a thing as thou didst then suppose it. I durst not tell thy mother of thy danger (though I heard of it), till, at the same time, I told her of thy recovery. Poore woman! she was troubled and pleased at the same time; but

* See Bonney, p 18, as cited by Heber.

your letter did determine her. I take it kindly that thou hast writt to Bowman. If I had been in condition, you should not have been troubled with it; but, as it is, both thou and I must be content. Thy mother sends her blessing to thee and her little Mally; so doe I, and my prayers to God for you both. Your little cozens are your servants; and I am

“Thy most affectionate and endeared brother,

“JER. TAYLOR.

“November 24, 1643.

“To my very dear brother, Dr Langsdale, at his Apothecary's House in Gainsborough.”*

From an expression in this letter, it is inferred by Heber that he was at the time suffering from distressed circumstances; and that it was written from London, as Royston was a printer and bookseller in Ivy Lane, who afterwards published many of Taylor's writings.

Taylor's first retirement from the royal army is supposed to have been occasioned by the attraction of an attachment; and the most authoritative testimonies lead to the conclusion that, in 1644, his second marriage was contracted with a lady in Wales. He had become acquainted with this lady, during his first visit to Wales. She was a Mrs Johanna Bridges. She possessed a small estate at Mandinam, and is reputed to have been a natural daughter of the king's, when prince of Wales and under the corrupt tutelage of Buckingham. The fact of the estate is stated by Heber, on the authority of Mr Jones' manuscripts, and in some degree confirmed by the marriage settlement of Taylor's third daughter, in which the mother, who survived the bishop, “settles on her daughter the reversion of the Mandinam property.”† From a letter of lady Wray, Heber states that she is said to have possessed a fine person, which is (he says) confirmed by her portrait, still preserved by the family, which exhibits a striking resemblance to her father.

Of the events of his life, during this period of confusion, we have already intimated that there is no certain register. In one of his occasional attendances on the king, he was taken prisoner, in a victory gained by the parliamentary troops, before the castle of Cardigan, in February, 1644. To this, and we think to the recent circumstance of his marriage, the following extract from the dedication to his “liberty of prophesying,” seems to allude when he tells his patron, Lord Hatton, “that in the great storm which dashed the vessel of the church all in pieces, he had been cast on the coast of Wales; and, in a boat, thought to have enjoyed that rest and quietness which, in England, in a far greater, he could not hope for. Here,” he continues, “I cast anchor; and thinking to ride safely, the storm followed me with so impetuous violence, that it broke a cable, and I lost my anchor. And here again, I was exposed to the mercy of the sea, and the gentleness of an element that could neither distinguish things nor persons. And but, that He who stilleth the raging of the sea, and the noise of his waves, and the madness of his people, had provided a plank for me, I had been

* Bonney, p. 15.—Heber, I. 36.

† Heber, I. 55.

lost to all the opportunities of content or study. But I know not whether I have been more preserved by the courtesies of my friends, or the gentleness and mercies of a noble enemy. "Οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι παρ-
είχον οὐ τῇ τυχεύσαν φιλανθρωπίαν ἡμῶν; ἀνάψαντες γὰρ πυρὰν προσελαβοντο
ΠΑΝΤΑΣ ἙΜΑΣ, διὰ τὸν ὑπερὶ τοῖς ἰσχυρῶτα, καὶ διὰ τὸ ψυχρός" * In this there appears to be a close, though figurative, sketch of the course and circumstances of his fortune, during the interval to which it applies; the temporary secession from the perils of his court-life—the seemingly secure provision for domestic quiet and competence, which such a marriage must, under ordinary circumstances, have secured, and the sudden interruption, alleviated by the "mercies of a noble enemy." While, as Heber justly observes, the Greek quotation seems to imply that he had numerous fellows in misfortune. It also intimates the kindness of their treatments; with respect to the particular circumstances, and the duration of his confinement, there is nothing more certain than conjecture. It seems only to be inferred with strong probability, that from Colonel Langham, the governor of Pembroke Castle, and the members of the parliamentary committee for that district, he met with the humane attention which was due to his character.

We should here make some mention of the noble person, who was, during this interval, his chief friend and patron, Christopher Hatton, afterwards Lord Hatton, of Kirby, with whom he had formed a friendship, during his residence at Uppingham. To this nobleman his "Defence of Episcopacy," with several of his earlier works, were dedicated. Of him also, a passage quoted by Heber, from Clarendon, says, "a person who, when he was appointed comptroller of the king's household, possessed a great reputation, which, in a few years, he found a way to diminish." Upon this Heber justly and pointedly observes, at some length, on the uncertainty of such statements, counterbalanced, as they so often are on either side, by the friendship and enmity of parties and rivals. It would not, he says, be "easy to find a more splendid character in history, than is ascribed by the hope or gratitude of Taylor to the nobleman, of whom the historian speaks thus slightly:" the bishop hints, however, the deduction which may be made for the style of eulogy, which debased the dedications of that period: but admits, that Hatton must have had some pretensions to learning or talent, on grounds which we think have sufficient interest to be stated with a little more detail.

Sir Christopher had been made knight of the bath, at the coronation of Charles I., and was one of the very first who came to his aid with hand and fortune, at the commencement of the civil wars. In 1640, he was member of the parliament which then met, and had the sagacity to foresee the destruction of ecclesiastical structures, which would be likely to take place as a result of their political proceedings: he urged Dugdale, the well-known antiquary, to visit and endeavour to secure sketches and descriptions of the principal churches through England: for the execution of this useful suggestion we quote the

* And the barbarians showed us no small kindness; for they kindled a fire and received us *every one*, because of the present rain and because of the cold.—*Acts* xxviii. 2.

authority cited by Mr Bonney. In the summer of 1641, Dugdale, accompanied by William Sedgwick, a skilful arms-painter, "repaired first to the cathedral of St Paul, and next to the abbey of Westminster, and there made exact draughts of all the monuments in each of them, copied the epitaphs according to the very letter, and all the arms in the windows or cut in stone. All of which, being done with great exactness, Mr Dugdale rode to Peterborough, Ely, Norwich, Lincoln, Newark-upon-Trent, Beverley, Southwell, Kingston-upon-Hull, York, Selby, Chester, Lichfield, Tamworth, Warwick, and the like, in all those cathedral, collegiate, conventual, and divers other churches, wherein any tombs and monuments were to be found, to the end that the memory of them might be preserved for future and better times." *Fasti*, Oxon. p. 694. As every reader of English history is aware, the suggestion of Hatton and the industry of Dugdale were nothing less than seasonable. The storm of sacrilege was not slow to break forth over the most sacred and venerable antiquities of the country.

The duration of Taylor's confinement cannot be ascertained, and we shall not waste space with conjecture. Neither can we pretend to reconcile the apparent discrepancies, by which we are from time to time perplexed in the unavoidably vague narrations of our authorities; it is enough to observe, that such difficulties must always occur in the want of those details which cannot be fairly the subject of conjecture. After his liberation it probably was, that he found his means of subsistence so far reduced, as to drive him to the necessity of obtaining sustenance by teaching. Deprived previously of his church preferment, he was, on his liberation, probably compelled to make a large composition for the preservation of a small estate. It is, however, certain, that he joined with William Nicholson, afterwards bishop of Gloucester, and William Wyatt, afterwards, a prebendary of Lincoln, in a school, kept at Newton-hall, a house in the parish of Lanfihangel; in which, according to Wood, as quoted by Bonney and Heber, several youth were most "loyally educated" and sent to the universities, though a tradition, said to be yet current in that part of Wales, affirms that Taylor taught school from place to place wheresoever he could find means. There is, indeed, nothing inconsistent in supposing both accounts to be true, as the latter may have led the way to the first mentioned; nevertheless, on mere oral traditions, there is no reliance to be placed, further than as simply indications of some originating fact, and as corroborative of more authoritative testimony. So far, they may have decided weight, because a testimony of no *independent value*, may by an obvious law of probable reasoning, be a valuable *corroboration*.

Of the scholars, few have arrived at the distinction of a historical record. Among those mentioned by Taylor's biographers, Judge Powell is recollected, as having borne a distinguished part afterwards, in the famous trial of the seven bishops. "A new and easy institution of grammar," was one of the results of this passage of Taylor's life: it has a Latin dedication by Wyatt, and one in English by himself. It is of course a scarce book, a copy still exists in the library of Caius' college. Heber, who probably had seen it, mentions that it was most likely to have been the work of Wyatt. This was published in 1647; and

shortly after, appeared his "Liberty of Prophesying," which bishop Heber calls the most curious, and perhaps the ablest of Taylor's writings; of its contents we shall hereafter offer some account: here we shall only notice it, so far as it may be regarded as illustrative of the general disposition and characteristic opinions of the writer. To have published a work in favour of toleration, was, indeed, not merely to think in advance of the time in which he lived, but to brave the spirit of popular intolerance in one of its most imposing and dangerous moods. Not only was religious persecution in one of its periods of full and vigorous operation, but the principle of toleration was not yet understood. So vigorous is the hold which the corruptions of prejudice and habit take of human nature, that, in the course of fifteen centuries, it seems to have grown into an axiom of reason, that the truth of God, was to be maintained by ways in every sense so opposed to the plainest principles which he has revealed to his fallen and erring creatures. And it is even a sad truth, that toleration has, even to the present day, few to advocate it otherwise than on the false principle of infidelity or latitudinarianism. It is to the praise of Taylor that he maintained the truth without falling into any of those errors which surround it on every side. Guarding against the admission of those dangerous immunities, which some of the freethinking politicians of our time would claim for the open dissemination of immorality and blasphemy of every foul shade and form; he exposed the unfitness of legal coercions and penalties, as the means of suppressing religious opinions, with a force, and to an extent, which exposed him to the charge of advocating those tenets for which he simply claimed freedom from severities not warranted by the law of God. There was, indeed, not much indulgence to be expected from the utmost liberality of his time; as Heber with great force reflects, "Even the sects who have themselves under oppression exclaimed against their rulers, not as being persecutors at all, but as persecuting those who professed *the truth*; and each sect, as it obtained the power to wield the secular weapon, esteemed it also a duty, as well as a privilege, not to bear the sword in vain." The bishop also mentions, "a copy of the first edition, which now lies before me, has its margin almost covered with manuscript notes, expressive of doubt or disapprobation; and the commentator, whoever he was, has subjoined at the end of the volume, '*Palleo metu et vobis dico non omnibus*.' His arguments, particularly in behalf of the anabaptists, were regarded as too strenuous and unqualified; and the opinions of the author himself having consequently fallen into suspicion, he, in a subsequent edition, added a powerful and satisfactory explanation of his previous language, and an answer to the considerations which he had himself advanced, in apology for the opinions of those sectaries."* It is only necessary to add in this place, that, notwithstanding the general error which we have stated in these remarks, there was at the particular juncture, some peculiar fitness for such an argument. It was, in fact, one of those critical moments, when something like a temporary revulsion takes place in the balanced collisions of party; when, fearing and doubting each other, the thought of com-

* Heber, i. 45.

promise starts up, and seems for a moment to offer hopes of advantage. As we have already noticed, the rival sects, which had conjointly found their way to within a near grasp of ascendancy, began to see and feel that they had more to fear from each other, than from the subdued powers of the church and throne. A compromise with these fallen powers would have promised, at least, an advantage of no small weight; but with the inconsistency so common to popular prejudice, each would have a bargain in which nothing essential was to be allowed or yielded up. It was, indeed, simply an intrigue for political victory; but it was one which must have given some effect to a forcible and eloquent argument for toleration.

About the same time, Taylor published a "Discourse concerning Prayer Extempore," &c., of which the substance had been drawn up by him formerly, on the occasion of the form of worship issued by the parliamentary party, in 1643, under the known title of a "Directory," which we have frequently had occasion to mention. Some of his arguments on this subject, may be here offered, as containing a brief view of the most essential portion of the argument. We may premise so far as to say, on our own part, that there is a small portion of his reasoning which we should somewhat modify, were we engaged in a statement of the whole argument: we would say, that, in order to advocate set forms of prayer, it is by no means essential (though it may be imposed by the errors of an adversary,) to consider the question as to the operation of the Spirit. And we cannot help thinking, that in this very question, both parties have been misled from the perception of some very simple truths, by this unnecessary complication. To deny that every good gift cometh from the Father of lights—to say that any grace, or gift, or any holy attribute, or manifestation of christian mind, can exist independently of the power of God by his Spirit, we would conceive to be contradictory to Scripture, and a denial of the tenets of the church of England: to talk of miracles as affecting this affirmation, is a foolish sophism. The ordinary operation of the Spirit is simply a portion of the uniform, though unseen, agency of a power that never ceases to be present or to act: it becomes a miracle only, in fact, when the case is a visible exception to the *ordinary course*. The power which works by actuating the affections and faculties must, demonstrably, be only known as a natural agent, until we draw the more correct inference from the direct affirmation of God, in his revelation. It is for this reason that we consider both Taylor, and other very able writers who have followed in his steps, to be not a little incautious on this point, and adapted to give an advantage to their antagonists. The extract, which we here offer, is, however, free from such a charge.

"If all christian churches had one common liturgy, there were not a greater symbol to testify, nor a greater instrument to preserve the catholic communion; and, in former ages, whenever a schism was commenced, and that they called one another heretick, they not only forsook to pray with one another, but they also altered their forms, by interposition of new clauses, hymns, and collects, and new rites and ceremonies; only those parties that combined kept the same liturgy; and, indeed, the same forms of prayer were so much the instrument of

union, that it was the only ligament of their society, (for their creeds I reckon as part of their liturgy, for so they ever were,) so that this may teach us a little to guess, I will not say into how many churches, but into how many innumerable atoms, and minutes of churches, those christians must needs be scattered, who alter their forms according to the number of persons, and the number of their meetings; every company having a new form of prayer at every convention. And this consideration will not be in vain, if we remember how great a blessing unity in churches is, and how hard to be kept with all the arts in the world; and how powerful everything is for its dissolution. But that a public form of liturgy was the great instrument of communion in the primitive church, appears in this, that the *xoδαίσις*, or excommunication, was an exclusion, 'a communicatione orationis et conventus, et omnis sancti commercii,' from the participation of the public meeting and prayers; and, therefore, the more united the prayer is, still it is the greater instrument of union; the authority and consent, the public spirit and common acceptation, are so many degrees of a more firm and indissoluble communion." In this, and in the succeeding parts which, in the course of a few years, he published on the same subject, Taylor's object was evidently to convince all parties, that they might reconcile their differences and unite in the fold of the same church. A union which might, perhaps, be effected between most of the protestant churches, if it were possible for men, constituted as man appears to be, to avoid giving to forms and accidents, the place of vital and essential principles; and to inferential tenets, upon which the best and holiest men have differed and will differ, more importance than to those authentic and primary doctrines, on which all christian churches which have taken Scripture for their authority, have agreed. Nothing, in truth, can be more illustrative of human "foolishness" than the aptitude of sects to elevate their feelings, and narrow their views to the almost exclusive contemplation of the little dogmas, upon which they stand separate from other religious denominations. And yet this will, upon strict examination, be found at the bottom of dissent: what renders it more palpable to those who observe extensively, is the fact, that, within the very bosom of every church or sect, the differences of every kind, among individuals, will be found to be as great as those which separate the professions to which these remarks apply. We must, indeed, admit, that there are sects altogether beyond the pale of comprehension; such as differ upon the main and fundamental tenets concerning justification, must, of course, stand ever far apart. For this reason, the socinian, whose doctrine sweeps clean away the entire system of redemption; and the church of Rome, which, by the doctrine of transubstantiation, places it upon a wholly different foundation, cannot be included in the reproach of wide dissent on narrow or unessential grounds. But we would, if we could, strongly impress the distinction to be drawn between speculative and metaphysical tenets, and those which are simply and literally revelation. The one, though grounded on the text of Scripture, rises into deductions beyond its direct scope, and far above the level to which human reason has yet succeeded in rising, so as to ensure certainty, which is by no means to be measured by individual conviction. The other is the practical sub-

stance of ordinary piety, such as looking to Scripture as designed for the reasonable information of the humble followers of Christ, and such as looking to common human nature, was evidently all that man is capable of reaching. A single glance on the fluent and fiery controversialists of any given tenet, is enough to show, that whether the doctrine is true or not, its professor is not often more than the partisan. Bishop Butler has beautifully pointed out, that a system, which is but *part* of one more vast and comprehensive, must needs have many links of connexion with the unknown whole, and these must necessarily offer inscrutable and mysterious points to human ignorance. It is but too often upon these dim and vague points, that human presumption seizes to build high and subtle structures of theosophy: such, in every branch of knowledge, has been the error of our reason: in natural philosophy, facts come at last to demolish these proud edifices of error; but the sophist, who anatomizes the being, and scrutinizes the counsels of God, is at least safe in the remote and unfathomable depth which he pretends to sound. On such questions, do we counsel a perfect abstinence of reason? Certainly not, for it is not in man's nature: but we cannot help urging that a broad distinction should be made between those practical articles, which the gospel offers as articles of saving faith, and those which are the growth of dogmatic theology. And that those who are the guides of churches and sects, would well consider whether a comprehensive unity in the visible church of Christ, beset as it is with enmity on every side, is not more important than any secondary question of discipline, form, or even of those articles of speculative opinion, which, while they separate some, are in fact diffused throughout the entire body of every church of any considerable extent.

As we have repeatedly intimated, there remains little trace of the private history of Taylor, through the time over which these publications may be supposed to have been appearing. The school in which he had taken part was probably broken up by the disturbances of the time, or by his imprisonment; and he was reduced to a state of much difficulty, in which he appears to have been entirely thrown upon the kindness of his friends. Of these the principal, at this period of his life, was Richard Vaughan, earl of Carberry, a noble distinguished for his virtue and ability, who had obtained celebrity in the Irish wars, and as the chief commander for the king, in South Wales. He was universally known for the moderation of his character, and respected in every party. After the battle of Marston Moor he was allowed to compound on easy terms for his estate. He was first married to a daughter of Sir John Altham, of Orbey, of whom Taylor has left a portrait in the sermon which he composed for her funeral, which, says Heber, "belongs rather to an angelic than a human character." The second was a lady of celebrity more than historic, as she was the original of the "lady" in Milton's "Comus." In a note, derived from Mr Bonney's MS. notes, the bishop gives us the following interesting particulars:—"The pictures of these two ladies are still at Golden Grove, and in good preservation. That of the first, displays a countenance marked with all the goodness and benignity, which might be expected from the character which Taylor gives her; the second has a much more lofty and dignified air, such as might become the heroine in Comus. The

first lady Carberry left three sons and six daughters. Her eldest son, Francis, Lord Vaughan, married Rachel, daughter of Thomas Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, who survived her husband, and afterwards became conspicuous in English history, as the heroic wife and widow of William, lord Russell. A copy of Taylor's *Essay on Repentance*, presented to her by the author, is now in the possession of the Rev. Dr Swire, of Melsonby, near Richmond, Yorkshire.

With this family at Golden Grove, Taylor found, for several years, a secure asylum, where he was enabled to pursue his learned labours, and perform the duties of his calling as private chaplain, when they were proscribed and suspended elsewhere. In this interval he published his "Life of Christ, or the Great Exemplar," the first of his writings which obtained considerable popularity, and which Heber considers to have thus determined the character of his succeeding works. His publications, for some years following, were entirely or mainly devotional. Such, we are inclined to believe, was the native temper of his mind; and had he not been cast in times so peculiarly characterized by great and fundamental controversies, it is probable that to such his pen would have been confined. Like all men of broad and comprehensive intelligence, Taylor's understanding and affections rested too strongly on principles and essentials, to have any impulses to the mere discussion of controversy, or to increase division by unduly aggravating those small differences which are too apt to be the main rallying points of popular prejudice. In the three following years, he published, a funeral sermon on the first lady Carberry; a course of twenty-seven sermons; and his "Holy Living and Dying," both composed at the desire of the same lady.

In 1654, he was provoked, by some unseasonable demonstrations from the members of the Romish church, of triumph in the adversity of the church of England, to review several of the chief topics of difference between these two churches, for the purpose of selecting the most decisive point. His choice was, we think, judicious, as he seized on that, which if all other points were reconciled, must involve the most wide, diametrical, and necessary difference which can be conceived to exist between two churches professing to have a kindred source. The title of the essay which contained his view is enough to convey all that we should here venture to add—the "Real Presence and Spiritual of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament, proved against the Doctrine of Transubstantiation." It was dedicated "to Warner, bishop of Rochester, a worthy and wise man, who, even in the times of general distress, continued, from his scanty means, to assist the still deeper poverty of Taylor."*

In the same year, his "Catechism for Children" was enlarged and republished with a preface, which, though according to Heber, "ostensibly calculated (and perhaps intended) to conciliate the Protector in favour of the persecuted church of England, as friendly to established governments, and more particularly to monarchy," contained expressions offensive to that captious vigilance, with which a revolutionary government must ever be upheld. He was in consequence committed to prison. The

* Heber, i. 61.

entire knowledge of the fact is derived from a letter of great interest, which shall here speak for itself. "The calamities which lately arrived you, came to me so late, and with so much incertitude during my long absence from these parts, that till my return, and earnest inquisition, I could not be cured of my very great impatience to be satisfied concerning your condition. But so it pleased God, that, when I had prepared to receive that sad news, and deplore your restraint, I was assured of your release, and delivered of much sorrow. It were imprudent, and a character of much ignorance, to inquire into the cause of any good man's suffering in these bad times; yet if I have learned it out, 'twas not of my curiosity; but the discourse of some with whom I have had some habitudes since my coming home. I had read the preface long since to you at 'Golden Grove,' remember and infinitely justifie all that you have there asserted. 'Tis true vallor to dare to be undon, and the consequent of truth hath ever been in danger of his teeth, and it is a blessing if men escape so in these dayes, when not the safeties onely, but the soules of men are betrayed; whilst such as you, and such excellent assistances as they afford us, are rendered criminal and suffer. But you, sir, who have furnished the world with so rare precepts, against the efforts of all secular disasters whatsoever, could never be destitute of those consolations, which you have so charitably and piously prescribed unto others, yea rather, this has turned to our immense advantage, nor lesse to your glory, whilst men behold you living to your owne institutions, and preaching to us as effectually in your chaines, as in the chaire; in the prison, as in the pulpit; for, methinkes, sir, I hear you pronounce it, as, indeed, you act it:—

*Aude aliquid brevibus gyris et carcere dignum
Si vis esse aliquis*—

That your example might shame such as betray any fear of men, whose mission and commission is from God. You, sir, know in the general, and I must justifie in particular, with infinite cognition, the benefit I have received from the truth you have delivered. I have perused that excellent 'Unum Necessarium' of yours to my very great satisfaction, and direction, and do not doubt but it shall in tyme gaine upon all those exceptions, which I know you are not ignorant, appeare against it! 'Tis a great deale of courage, and a great deale of perill, but, to attempt the assault of an error, is so inveterate.

'Αἱ δὲ κείναι κρίσεις τὸν ἀπέραιον ὁδὸν.' False opinion knows no bottome, and reason and prescription meet in so few instances; but certainly you greatly vindicate the divine goodness, which the ignorance of men and popular mistakes have so long charged with injustice. But, sir, you must expect with patience the event, and the fruites you contend for: as it shall be my dayly devotions, for your successe,

who remains, Rev. Sir, &c.

JOHN EVELYN.

SAY'S COURT, 9th February, 1655.

In the biography of Taylor's period, it would not be easy to dis-

* Evelyn's Memoirs, Vol. ii. p. 97.

cover a subject of more interest, than the incidents and progress of the friendship between him and Evelyn. Yet, of these the record is slight and imperfect, and, with little exception, is only to be drawn from the few letters which are to be found of their correspondence through many years. The following entries, in Evelyn's diary, give the only traces to be obtained, of the times and circumstances of their first acquaintance:—

"April 15, 1654.—I went to London to hear the famous Jeremy Taylor, (since hishop of Down and Connor,) at St Greg. on vi. Matt. 48., concerning evangelical perfection."

"March 18, 1655.—Went to London, on purpose to hear their excellent preacher, Dr Jeremy Taylor, on xiv. Matth. 17.; showing what were the conditions of obtaining eternal life; also, concerning abatements for unavoidable infirmities, how cast on the accompt of the crosse. On the 31st, I made a visit to Dr Jeremy Taylor, to confer with him about some spiritual matters, using him thenceforward as my ghostly father. I beseech God Almighty to make me ever mindful of, and thankful for, his heavenly assistances."*

Shortly after the date of the latter of these extracts, another letter of Evelyn's proves the fact, that Taylor was a second time arrested, and confined in Chepstow Castle. The time was the same to which we have already adverted more largely in the life of primate Usher, when Cromwell recommenced the persecution of the episcopalian clergy, who had a little before obtained a brief rest. Evelyn's letter is in every respect worth perusal, and is not to be omitted here.

"REV. SIR,

"It was another extraordinary charity which you did me, when you lately relieved my apprehensions of your danger, by that which I just now received: and, though the general persecution reinforce, yet it is your particular which most concerns me, in this sad catalysis and declension of piety, to which we are now reduced. But, sir, what is now to be don, that the starrs of our bright hemisphere are every where pulling from their orbs? I remember where you have said it was the harbinger of the greate daye; and a very sober and learned person, my worthy friend, the greate Oughtred, did the other daye seriously persuade me 'parare in occursum,' and will needs have the following yeares productive of wonderful and universal changes. What to say of that I know not; but, certaine it is, we are brought to a sad condition. I speake concerning secular yet religious persons; whose glory it will only be to lie buried in your ruines, a monument too illustrious for such as I am. For my part, I have learned from your excellent assistances to humble myselfe, and to adore the inscrutable pathes of the Most High: God and his truth are still the same, though the foundations of the world be shaken. Julianus Redivivus can shut the schooles indeede, and the temples; but he cannot hinder our private intercourses and devotions, where the breast is the chapell, and our heart is the altar. Obedience, founded in the understanding, will be the onely cure and retraite. God will accept what remaines, and

* Evelyn's Memoirs: from Heber.

will supply what is necessary. He is not obliged to externals; the purest ages passed under the cruellest persecutions: it is sometimes necessary; and this, and the fulfilling of prophecy, are all instruments of greater advantage (even whilst they press and are incumbent) to those who can make a sanctified use of them. But, as the thoughts of many hearts will be discovered, and multitudes scandalized; so are there divers well disposed persons who will not know how to guide themselves, unless some such good men as you discover the secret, and instruct them how they may secure their greatest interest, and steer their course in this dark uncomfortable weather. Some such discourse would be highly seasonable now that the daily sacrifice is ceasing, and that all the exercise of your functions is made criminal, that the light of Israel is quenched. Where shall we now receive the viaticum with safety? How shall we be baptized? For to this passe it is come, sir. The comfort is, the captivity had no temple, no altar, no king. But did they not observe the passover, nor circumcise? Had they no priests and prophets amongst them? Many are weak in the faith, and know not how to answer, nor whither to fly: and if, upon the apotheosis of that excellent person, under a malicious representation of his martyrdom, engraven in copper, and sent me by a friend from Brussels, the jesuite could so bitterly sarcasme upon the embleme:—

*Projicis inventum caput, Anglia (Angla?) Ecclesia cæsum
Si caput est, saluum corpus an esse potest?*

How think you will they now insult, ravage, and break in upon the flock; for the shepherds are smitten, and the sheepe must of necessity be scattered, unless the Great Shepherd of soules oppose, or some of his delegates reduce and direct us. Deare sir, we are preparing to take our last farewell (as they threaten of God's service in this city, or any where else in publique). I must confesse it is a sad consideration; but it is what God sees best, and to what we must submit. The comfort is, 'Deus providebit.' Sir, I have not yet been so happy as to see those papers which Mr Royston tells me are printing, but I greatly rejoice that you have so happily fortified that batterie, and I doubt not but that you will maintain the siege: for you must not be discouraged by the passions of a few. Reason is reason to me wherever I find it, much more where it conduces to a designe so salutary and necessary. At least, I wonder that those who are not convinced by your arguments, can possibly resist your charity, and your modesty; but, as you have greatly subdued my education in that particular, and controversy; so am I confident tyme will render you many more proselytes. And if all doe not come so freely in with their suffrages at first, you must with your accustomed patience attend the event.

"Sir, I beseech God to conduct all your labours, those of religion to others, and of love and affection to me, who remaine,

"Sir, your, &c.

LOND., 18 Mar. (qu Mai) 1665.

This letter received no answer until the following January, from

which it is to be inferred, either that it did not reach his place of imprisonment, or that the answer was retarded by some obstruction. Mr Bonney gives the following account of the circumstances to which he is inclined to attribute this imprisonment:—"At the end of the year 1654, the royalists, who were still active, had made an insurrection at Salisbury, and brought upon themselves and their friends the vengeance of the Protector. Many were executed, some banished, and all were regarded with such suspicion by Cromwell, that he increased the force of cavalry throughout the country. Taylor, though no insurgent, was yet too well known a royalist, to escape the observation of the government," &c. We have quoted Mr Bonney's words so far, because we think that Heber has put too strong a construction upon them in his mention of Mr Bonney's conjecture, that "he was suspected of being engaged in the unfortunate and ill contrived insurrection of Penruddock and Groves, in 1654," but he well observes that such could not be the fact, as Taylor was at large, and exercising his ministerial functions in London, subsequent to the punishment of those persons.

His confinement was short and unattended with severity. A letter published in one of his works thus adverts to the circumstance: "I now have that liberty that I can receive any letters and send any; for the gentlemen under whose custody I am, as they are careful of their charges, so they are civil to my person."* On this Heber observes: "His amiable manners, no less than his high reputation for talents and piety, seem at all times to have impressed and softened those, who were from political and polemical considerations most opposed to him." The bishop also mentions, that there is room for the suspicion that his wife's estate was a second time largely drawn upon, for the purpose of obtaining the countenance of the ruling powers.

The luxuriance of his genius was, in the meantime, not repressed, or his christian zeal slackened by external circumstances. He completed his course of sermons for the year, and produced a work, entitled "*Unum Necessarium*, or the doctrine and practice of repentance." In this work he expressed himself on the doctrine of original sin, so as to expose himself to the reproach of pelagianism, and to give much alarm to the clergy. Conscious himself of being exposed to such animadversions, he felt much uneasiness as to the reception of his work. His anxiety was justified by the result; it was indeed impossible that a topic, so essentially connected with the very foundation of our faith, could be suffered to sustain any misrepresentation from a pen so influential, without drawing forth the resistance of the wise, and the resentment of the carnal. Taylor endeavoured to flank his book with dedications and prefatory explanations, which, of course, could have but slight effect. The alarm of the clergy was increased by the strong consideration of the danger to be incurred from the reproach of their powerful and persecuting enemies. His friend the bishop of Rochester expostulated with him in a letter not preserved. Saunderson, who had been the regius professor of divinity in Oxford, lamented his error with tears, and regretted that it could not be authoritatively suppressed. Taylor did not sit quite passive

* Taylor's Works, Vol. ix. ; quoted by Heber.

under the storm of reproach and reproof: he produced a "further explication of the Doctrine of Original Sin," with a dedication to the bishop of Rochester. This was sent to the bishop for correction and approval: the bishop was still unsatisfied, and refused to revise a work which retracted nothing objectionable. This is ascertained from a note of his reply, on the back of Taylor's letter, since published for the first time, by Heber. It is as follows:—

"Right Reverend Father in God,

"My very good Lord, I wrote to your lordship about a fortnight or three weeks since, to which letter, although I believe an answer is upon the road, yet I thought fit to prevent the arrival of, by this addresse; together with which, I send up to Royston a little tract, giving a further account of that doctrine which some of my brethren were less pleased with. And although I find, by the letters of my friends from thence, that the storme is over, and many of the contradictors professe themselves of my opinion, and pretend that they were so before, but thought it not fit to owne it, yet I have sent up these papers, by which (according to that counsel which your lordship, in your prudence and charity, was pleased to give me), I doe intend, and I hope they will effect it, (to) give satisfaction to the church and to my zealous brethren; besides, possibly, they may prevent a trouble to me, if peradventure any man should be *tam otiose negotiosus* as to write against me. For, I am very desirous to be permitted quietly to my studies, that I may seasonably publish the first three books of my Cases of Conscience, which I am now preparing to the presse, and by which, as I hope to secure God and the church, so I designe to doe some honour to your lordship, to whose charity and noblenesse, I and my relatives are so much obliged. I have given order to Royston to consign these into your lordships hands, to peruse, censure, acquit, or condemne, as your lordship pleases. If the written copy be troublesome to read, your lordship may receive them from the presse, and yet suppress them before the publication *si minus probentur*. But if, by your lordship's letters, which I suppose are coming to mee, I find any permission or counsel from your lordship that may cause me to alter or adde, to what sent up, I will obey it, and give Royston order not to post so fast, but that I may overtake him before these come abroad. But, I was upon any termes willing to be quit of these, that I might no longer suffer or looke upon any thing that may retard my more beloved intendment.

"My lord, I humbly begge your blessing
upon your lordship's most obliged, and
most affectionate, and thankful servant,
"JER. TAYLOR."

From this letter, it is evident he was free, and at his house at Mandinam, and as his letter to Warner ascertains that he was in Chepstow Castle, in the middle of September, the period of his confinement is thus computed by Heber, to have been from May to October.

We here insert a letter which he wrote to Evelyn not long after

this period ; which evidently implies that his friend had expressed his concurrence in the opinions which had drawn so much animadversion from others.

To John Evelyn, Esq.

"Honoured and Deare Sir,

"Not long after my coming from my prison, I met with your kind and friendly letters, of which I was very glad, not onely because they were a testimony of your kindnesse and affections to mee, but that they gave mee a most welcome account of your health, (and which now-a-days is a great matter), of your liberty, and of that progression in piety, in which I do really rejoyce. But there could not be given to mee a greater, and more persuasive testimony of the reality of your piety and care, than that you passe to greater degrees of caution and the love of God. It is the worke of your life, and I perceive that you betake yourself heartily to it. The God of heaven and earth prosper you and accept you!

"I am well pleased that you have reade over my last booke; and give God thanks that I have reason to believe that it is accepted by God, and by some good men. As for the censure of unconsenting persons, I expected it, and hope that themselves will be their own reprovers, and truth will be assisted by God, and shall prevaile when all noises and prejudices shall be ashamed. My comfort is, that I have the honour to be an advocate for God's justice and goodness, and that the consequent of my doctrine is, that men may speake honour of God, and meanelly of themselves. But, I have also, this last weeke, sent up some papers, in which I make it appeare, that the doctrine which I now have published was taught by the fathers within the first 400 years; and have vindicated it both from novelty and singularity. I have also prepared some other papers concerning this question, which I once had some thoughts to have published. But what I have already said, and now further explicated and justified, I hope may be sufficient to satisfy pious and prudent persons, who do not love to goe "*quà itur*," but "*quà eundum est*." Sir, you see how good a husband I am of my paper and inke, that I make so short returnes to your most friendly letters. I pray be confident, that, if there be any defect here I will make it up in my prayers for you and my great esteeme of you, which shall ever be expressed in my readiness to serve you with all the earnestnesse and powers of,

"Deare Sir,

"Your most affectionate friend and servant,

"JER. TAYLOR."

"November 21, 1655."

On this letter Bishop Heber reflects at some length. His observations have much very serious interest; but we have refrained from entering on the subject, because we have early resolved not to engage in discussion or arguments on any topic of so much primary and fundamental importance, without entering upon a far more expanded statement than would be satisfactory to most of our readers. It may be enough

to say with Heber, that the doctrines maintained by this eminent christian were "irreconcilable with the articles of the church, which he loved and honoured, and contrary to the plain sense of the Scriptures, which were his consolation and guide." The mere fact of such doctrinal extremes as have almost from the beginning existed between men of great learning, wisdom, and sanctity, must assuredly, if duly reflected upon, setting aside all consideration of their several tenets, and the reasons by which they have maintained them, suggest salutary lessons, both of charity and humility; a tolerant allowance for what is presumed to be erroneous, and a distrust of reason when engaged on topics upon which its fallibility has been thus rendered evident; an humble and pious fear of misrepresenting the Divine nature, and of departing unconsciously from plain revelations and practical facts, for systems reared by speculative inference. "Such considerations," says Heber, "should not only lead us to think charitably of those with whom we differ, but should warn us against too hasty a condemnation of their opinions. They should warn us against supposing the reverse of wrong to be right [the great source of extreme errors]; and should endear to us still more the moderation, the discretion, and the humility, with which, on these awful and mysterious subjects, our own excellent and apostolic church has expressed herself." *

To John Evelyn, Esq.

"St Paul's Convers., 55-6.

"DEARE SIR,—I perceive by your symptoms how the spirits of pious men are affected in this sad catalysis. It is an evil time, and we must not hold our peace; but now the question is, who shall speake? Yet I am highly persuaded that, to good men and wise, a persecution is nothing but a changing the circumstances of religion, and the manner of the forms and appendages of Divine worship. Publike or private is all one. The first hath the advantage of society; the second, of love. There is a warmth and light in that; there is heat and zeale in this: and if every person that can, will but consider concerning the essentials of religion, and retain them severely, and immure them as well as he can with the same or equivalent ceremonies, I know no difference in the thing, but that he shall have the exercise, and consequently the reward of other graces; for which, if he lives and dies in prosperous dayes, he shall never be crowned. But the evils are, that some will be tempted to quit their present religion, and some to take a worse, and some to take none at all. It is a true and a sad story; but *oportet esse hæresis*, for so they that are faithful shall be knowne: and I am sure He that hath promised to bring good out of evil, and that all things shall co-operate to the good of them that feare God, will verify it concerning persecution. But concerning a discourse upon the present state of things, in relation to soules and our present duty, I agree with you that it is very fit it were done, but yet by somebody who is in London, and sees the personal necessities and circumstances of pious people. Yet I was so far persuaded to doe it myselfe, that I had amassed together divers of my papers useful to the worke; but

my Cases of Conscience call upon me so earnestly, that I found myself not able to beare the cries of a clamorous conference. Sir, I thank you for imparting to me that vile distich of the dear departed saint. I value it as I doe the picture of deformity or a devil. The art may be good, and the gift faire, though the thing be intolerable. But I remember that when the Jesuites, sneering and deriding our calamity, shewed this sarcasme to my lord Lucas, Birkenhead, being present, replied as tartly—‘It is true our church wants a head now; but if you have charity as you pretend, you can lend us one, for your church has had two and three at a time.’ Sir, I know not when I shall be able to come to London; for our being stripped of the little reliques of our fortune remaining after the shipwrecke, leaves not cordage nor sailes sufficient to beare me thither. But I hope to be able to commit to the presse my first bookes of Conscience by Easter time; and then, if I be able to get up, I shall be glad to wayte upon you; of whose good I am not more solicitous than I am joyful that you so carefully provide for it in your best interest. I shall only give you the same prayer that St John gave to Gaius—‘Beloved, I wish that you may be in health, and prosper:’ and your soule prospers; for so, by the rules of the best rhetorick, the greatest affair is put into a parenthesis, and the biggest businesse into a postscript. Sir, I thank you for your kind expressions at the latter end of your letter. You have never troubled me, neither can I pretend to any other returne from you but that of your love and prayers. In all things else I do but my duty, and I hope God and you will accept it; and that, by means of his own procurement, he will, some way or other, (but how, I know not yet,) make provisions for me.

“Sir, I am, in all heartinesse of affection,

“Your most affectionate friend,

“And minister in the Lord Jesus,

“JER. TAYLOR.”*

This letter, like most of Taylor’s, offers some curious and not unprofitable materials for reflection, on which we shall not here delay. Heber tells us that the Birkenhead of whom mention is made “was probably John Birkenhead, author of the *Mercurius Anglicus*.” The complaint of want of means to visit London appears to have been soon removed, as we shall very shortly find him there. He is, with every reason, thought to have at that time derived valuable and efficient aid from the generosity of Evelyn and other friends. On the subject of Evelyn’s liberality there is no question. The reader will recollect the opposition which, as warden of All Souls in Oxford, Sheldon offered to Taylor’s election as a fellow of that college: such resistance, purely the result of a just sense of duty, did not prevent that worthy and able man from forming a just estimate of his moral and intellectual excellence; and it is indeed a high testimony (in the estimation of worldly experience,) to the goodness of both, that they became mutual friends and admirers in the times of trouble which so soon after succeeded. Such cases indeed, we must observe, at first seem more

* Evelyn Papers, from Heber.

common than they are, because inexperienced persons so much oftener draw their ideas of man from books than from life. Such acts and such men are, in a measure, the world of biography and history; because they mainly record the deeds and characters of those who are rather the exceptions than the common cases of life. For the most part, public opposition, when it affects the personal interests of men whose ambition and strong passions carry them forward in the public scene, is known to engender implacable bitterness and animosity. We are at least sure that, looking to the personal history of many of the leading characters of the present day (and observation can look no farther), such is the common result. But we must not forget Taylor.

To Dr Sheldon.

"DEAR SIR,—I received yours dated November 5, in which I find a continued and enlarged expression of that kindness with which you have always assisted my condition, and promoted my interest. Two debts you are pleased to forgive me; one of money, the other of unkindness. I thank you for both; but this latter debt was contracted when I understood not you, and less understood myself; but I dare say there was nothing in it but folly and imprudence. But I will not do it so much favour as to excuse it. If it was displeasing to you then, it is much more to mee, now that I know of it.

"Sir, I will be sure, by the grace of God assisting me, that Mr Royston shall pay in ten pounds to your nephew, Mr Joseph Sheldon, before Candlemas. If you please in the interim to send him the bond, or any other power to discharge me, you will much oblige me. But, Sir, I desire that, by a letter from you to me, you will be pleased, on receipt of that money, to disoblige and free my duty and conscience, for that is the favour and the peace I desire in this particular. Sir, I am to thank you for the prudent and friendly advice you were pleased to give me in your other letter, relating to my great undertaking in *Cases of Conscience*. I have only finished the first part yet, the præcognita and the generals; but in that and the remaining parts, I will strictly observe your caution. Sir, though it hath always been my fortune to be an obliged person to you, and (I) now have less hope than ever of being free from the great variety of your endearments, yet I beg of you to add this favour—to think that I am all that to you which you can wish, save only that I cannot express how much I love and how much I honour you. Sir, I beg also your prayers, and the continuance of your kind affection to,

"Dear Sir,

"Your most affectionate and obliged friend and servant,

"JER. TAYLOR."

Of Taylor's visit to London, the following interesting record occurs in Evelyn's diary:—"April 12, 1656. Mr Berkeley and Mr R. Boyle (that excellent person and great virtuoso), Dr Taylor and Dr Wilkins, dined with me to-day at Says' Court, when I presented Dr W. with my rare burning-glasse. In the afternoon we went to Colonel Blount's, to see his new-invented plows."

The following letter belongs to the same interval:—

To John Evelyn, Esq.

" April 16, 1656.

"HONOURED AND DEARE SIR,—I hope your servant brought my apology with him, and that I already am pardoned, or excused in your thoughts, that I did not returne an answer yesterday to your friendly letter. Sir, I did believe mysele so very much bounde to you for your so kind, so friendly, reception of mee in your *Tusculanum*, that I had some little wonder upon mee when I saw you making excuses that it was no better. Sir, I came to see you and your lady, and am highly pleased that I did so, and found all your circumstances to be an heape and union of blessings. But I have not either so great a fancy and opinion of the prettinesse of your abroad, or so low an opinion of your prudence and piety, as to think you can be any wayes transported with them. I know the pleasure of them is gone off from their height before one month's possession; and that strangers, and seldome seers, feele the beauty of them more than you who dwell with them. I am pleased indeed at the order and cleannesse of all your outward things, and look'upon you not only as a person, by way of thankfulnessse to God for his mercies and goodnesse to you, specially obliged to a greater measure of piety, but also as one who, being freed in great degrees from secular cares and impediments, can, without excuse and allay, wholly intend, what you so passionately desire, the service of God. But, now I am considering yours, and enumerating my own pleasures, I cannot but adde that, though I could not choose but be delighted by seeing all about you, yet my delices were really in seeing you severe and unconcerned in these things, and now in finding your affections wholly a stranger to them, and to communicate with them no portion of your passion but such as is necessary to him that uses them, or receives their ministries. Sir, I long truly to converse with you. I will not say to you that your *Lucretius* is as far distant from the severity of a christian as the faire Ethiopian was from the duty of Bishop Heliodorus; for indeede it is nothing but what may become the labours of a christian gentleman, those things only abated which our evil age needes not; for which also I hope you either have by notes, or will by preface prepare a sufficient antidote. But since you are engaged in it, doe not neglect to adorne it, and take what care of it it can require or neede; for that neglect will be a reproof of your own act, and looke as if you did it with an unsatisfied mind; and then you may make that to be wholly a sin, from which onely by prudence and charity you could before be advised to abstain. But, Sir, if you will give me leave, I will impose such a penance upon you for your publication of *Lucretius* as shall neither displease God nor you; and since you are buisy in that which may minister directly to learning, and indirectly to error or the confidences of men, who of themselves are apt enough to hide their vices in irreligion, I know you will be willing, and will suffer yourself to be entreated, to employ the same pen in the glorifications of God, and the ministries of eucharist and prayer. Sir, if you have Mons. Silhon de l'Immortalite de l'Ame, I

desire you to lend it mee for a weeke; and believe that I am, in great heartinesse and dearnesse of affection,

"Deare Sir,

"Your obliged and most affectionate friend and servant,

"JER. TAYLOR."

The following entry is chiefly interesting for the affecting glimpse it presents of the distress of the clergy of our church at that period:—

"6 May, [1655].—I brought Mons. Le Franc, a young French sorbonist, a proselyte, to converse with Dr Taylor. They fell in dispute on original sin, in Latin, upon a booke newly published by the doctor, who was much satisfied with the young man.

"7th.—I visited Dr T., and prevailed on him to propose M. Le F. to the bishop, that he might have orders: I having some time before brought him to a full consent to the church of England, her doctrine and discipline, of which he had till of late made some difficulty: so he was this day ordained both deacon and priest, by the bishop of Meath. I paid the fees to his lordship, who was very poor and in great want. To that necessity were our clergy reduced."

To this extract Heber subjoins: "What bishop it was, whom Evelyn describes as the bishop of Meath, I cannot conjecture. Certain it is, that there was no bishop of that see at this time, the last, Dr A. Martin, having died in great poverty at Dublin, in 1650, and his see not having been filled up till after the restoration." Martin died of the plague in 1650, and it was not till 1661, that Henry Leslie, bishop of Down and Connor was translated to the vacant see of Meath. We scarcely think, however, the mistake of Evelyn unaccountable on the obvious grounds of forgetfulness. The above entry was evidently made (probably from a rough note), long after the incident.

The following letter, written in a moment of great affliction, displays the writer's mind in an affecting point of view; besides, showing another interesting instance of that friendship, which his character seems to have elicited in an unusual degree.

To John Evelyn, Esq.

"July 19, 1656.

"DEARE SIR,

"I perceive the greatness of your affections by your dilligence to inquire after, and to make use of any opportunity (which) is offered, whereby you may oblige me. Truly, sir, I doe continue in my desires to settle about London, and am only hindered by my *Res augustæ domi*: but hope, in God's goodnesse, that he will create to me such advantages as may make it possible; and when I am there I shall expect the daily issues of the divine providence to make all things else well; because, I am much persuaded, that by my abode in your voisinage of London, I may receive advantages of society and bookes to enable mee better to serve God, and the interest of soules. I have no other design but it; and I hope God will second it with his blessing. Sir, I desire you to present my thanks and service to Mr Thurland; his society were argument enough to make me desire a

dwelling thereabouts, but his other kindnesses will also make it possible. I would not be troublesome—serviceable I would faine be, useful and desirable—and I will endeavour it if I come. Sir, I shall, besides what I have already said to you, at present make no other return to Mr Thurland; till a little thing of mine be publike, which is in Royston's hands, of original sin; the evils of which doctrine I have now laid especially at the presbyterian doore, and discoursed it accordingly, in a missive to the countess dowager of Devonshire. When that is abroad, I meane to present one to Mr Thurland; and send a letter with it. I thanke you for your Lucretius. I wished it with me sooner; for in my letter to the countesse of Devonshire, I quote some things out of Lucretius, which, for her sake, I was forced to English in very bad verse, because I had not your version by mee to make use of it. Royston hath not yet sent it mee downe, but I have sent for it; and though it be no kindness to you to reade it for its owne sake, and for the worthinesse of the worke, because it deserves more; yet, when I tell you that I shall besides the worth of the thing, value it for the worthy author's sake, I intend to represent to you not only the esteeme I have of your worthinesse, but the love also I doe, and ever shall, beare to your person. Deare Sir, I am in some little disorder by reason of the death of a little child of mine, a boy that lately made us very glad: but now he rejoyces in his little orbe, while we thinke and sigh, and long to be as safe as he is. Sir, when your Lucretius comes into my hands, I shall be able to give you a better account of it. In the mean time, I pray for blessings to you and your deare and excellent lady; and am,

“Deare Sir,

“Your most affectionate and endeared

“Friend and servant,

“JER. TAYLOR.”

On the next letter, Heber remarks that it “touches on a deficiency in the public service of the English church, which has been often lamented, but is easier to lament than repair,” adverting to the passage, upon the translation of all the sacred hymns, which are dispersed through the old rituals and church books. Few, indeed, would have been more competent to such a task than Heber himself. But we think that the difficulty has never been justly appreciated; and the very specimen selected by Taylor offers some illustration of one of the causes of this difficulty: for, it is a subject of some complication. In the Latin hymn, “*Dies iræ, dies illa, solvet seclum,*” &c., the singularly sublime effect is produced by the extremely simple language in which the most awful and solemn ideas are conveyed. The whole structure of the English language, when viewed in relation to those associations which supply the metaphorical uses of language are so different from the Latin, that the same precise intent can only be conveyed either by a circumlocution, which would amount only to a trite and ineffective common-place, or to a new structure of language which could not be called translation, and which would demand first-rate original powers. For instance, “*dies illa,*” if translated, is only “that day,” an unemphatic expression: while in the Latin it has an idiomatic signification, felt at

once by the most superficial Latin reader, and only to be very imperfectly rendered in English, by the clumsy contrivance of italics. Scott has translated its force, only by the addition of a trite epithet, "that dreadful day:" but "*dies illa*" is an exclamation of awe and conscious horror, to which no epithet can do justice. Similarly, the word "*seclum*" conveys a twofold scope of dread and vast signification. It is at once the massive and magnificent edifice of nature, our solid globe with all its elements; together with the world of human things: all within the compass of a phrase. And we question if Shakspeare, in one of the most striking passages of English poetry, has come up to the full effect thus produced:—

"The cloud capt towers, the gorgeous palaces,
The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve,
And like the baseless fabric of a vision
Leave not a wreck behind."

To John Evelyn, Esq.

"DEARE SIR,

"AT last I have got possession of the favour you long since designed me—your Lucretius. Sir, shall I tell you really how I am surprised? I did believe (and you will say I had some reason,) that Lucretius could not be well translated. I thought you could doe it as well as any one, but I knew the difficulty, *ex parte rei*, was almost insuperable. But, Sir, I rejoyce that I find myself deceived, and am pleased you have so wittily reproved my too hasty censure. Mee thinkes now, Lucretius is an easy and smooth poet, and that it is possible for the same hand to turn Aristotle into smooth verse. But, Sir, I pray tell mee why you did so grudge your annotations to the publike? I am sure you neede not blush at them; but you may well chide yourself for offering to conceal them. Sir, you know I was not apt to counsel the publication of this first booke: but I should not repine (so the labour of it were over) that it were all done by the same hand, so perfectly doe I find myself confuted by your most ingenious pen. I was once bold with you; I would faine be so once more. It is a thousand pitties but our English tongue should be enriched with a translation of all the sacred hymns, which are respered in all the rituals and church bookes. I was thinking to have begged of you a translation of that well-knowne hymne, '*Dies iræ, dies illa, solvet seclum in favillâ*;' which, if it were a little changed, would be an excellent divine song; but I am not willing to bring trouble to you; only it is a thousand times to be lamented that the beaux esprits of England doe not think divine things to be worthy subjects for their poetry and spare houres. I have commanded Royston to present to you two copies of a little letter of mine to the countess dowager of Devon; of which, if you please to accept one, and present the other from me to your friend Mr Thurland, you will very much oblige mee, who already am, dear Sir,

"Your most affectionate and endeared

"JER. TAYLOR."

To the same.

"9 ber 15, 1656.

"Honoured and Deare Sir,

"IN the midst of all the discouragements which I meet withall in an ignorant and obstinate age, it is a great comfort to mee, and I receive new degrees of confidence, when I find that yourself are not only patient of truth, and love it better than prejudice and prepossession, but are so ingenuous as to dare to owne it in despite of the conflicting voices of error and unjust partiality. I have lately received, from a learned person beyond sea, certain extracts of the easterne and southerne antiquities, which very much confirme my opinion and doctrine; for the learned man was pleased to express great pleasure in the reasonableness of it, and my discourse concerning it. Sir, I could not but smile at my owne weaknesses, and very much love the candour and sweetnesse of your nature, that you were pleased to endure my English poetry; but I could (not) be removed from my certaine knowledge of my owne greatest weaknesses in it; but, if I could have had your Lucretius, when I had occasion to use those extractions out of it, I should never have asked any man's pardon of my weake version of them; for I would have used none but yours, and then I had been beyond censure, and could not have needed a pardon. But, Sir, the last papers of mine have had a fate like your Lucretius; I meane so many erratas made by the printers, that because I had not any confidence by the matter of my discourse, and the well-handling of it, as you had by the happy reddition of your Lucretius, I have reason to beg your pardon for the imperfection of the copy. But I hope the printer will make amends in my Rule of Conscience, which I find hitherto he does with more care. But, Sir, give me leave to aske why you will suffer yourselfe to be discouraged in the finishing Lucretius? They who can receive hurt by the fourth booke understand the Latin of it; and I hope they who will be delighted with your English, will also be secured by your learned and pious annotations, which I am sure you will give us along with your rich version. Sir, I humbly desire my service and great regards to be presented by you to worthy Mr Thurland, and that you will not fail to remember mee when you are upon your knees. I am very desirous to receive the '*dies iræ, dies illa*,' of your translation; and if you have not yet found it, upon notice of it from you, I will transmit a copy of it. Sir, I pray God continue your health and his blessings to you and your deare lady, and pretty babies; for which, I am daily obliged to pray, and to use all opportunities by which I can signify that I am

"Deare Sir,

"Your most affectionate, and endeared servant,

"JER. TAYLOR."

The reader will have noticed, in these letters, the marks and indications of the soreness which was left on his feelings, by the opposition

which his doctrine on the subject of original sin, had received among his friends and the clergy of his own church.

In the same year was published his "Deus justificatus," and an essay on "Artificial Handsomeness," which has been generally attributed to Taylor on grounds and authorities, which Heber at some length, and we think not inconclusively, shows to be insufficient. Heber was bound to give reasons for omitting the essay in Taylor's Works; but there is no reason why we should enter on a subject of little interest in itself. A general resemblance of style were sufficient to deceive men of such slight pretension to critical talent as Wood and Kennett, whose opinions were decided by the publisher's artifice of putting J. T. D.D. in the title of the second edition. In our own estimation such a mark leads to the clearest evidence of a paltry trick: the subject and the view were alike unworthy of Taylor, and inconsistent with his character.

Another question of far more importance is at this period discussed by Taylor's biographers, at some length; but, as they merely show, that no conclusion is attainable on any satisfactory grounds, we shall not here add our doubts or theirs, to a memoir so loaded with questions. At this period, Taylor's family was attacked by the small-pox, in consequence of which, two more of his sons died: the difficulty is consequently raised by some apparent discrepancies between the several accounts which state the births, deaths, and the survivors, until the point can be settled upon further authority, we must leave it as it is. The fact referred to here is, however, placed beyond question, by the following letter of February, 1657:—

"DEARE SIR,

"I know you will either excuse or acquit, or at least, pardon mee, that I have so long seemingly neglected to make a returne to your so kind and friendly letter, when I shall tell you that I have passed through a great cloud which hath wetted mee deeper than the skin. It hath pleased God to send the small-pox and feavers among my children; and I have, since I received your last, buried two sweet, hopeful boys; and have now but one sonne left, whom I intend, if it please God, to bring up to London before Easter, and then I hope to waite upon you, and by your sweet conversation, and other divertisements, if not to alleviate my sorrow, yet, at least, to entertain myself and keep me from too intense and actual thinkings of my trouble. Dear Sir, will you do so much for mee as to beg my pardon of Mr Thurland, that I have yet made no returne to him for his friendly letter and expressions. Sir, you see there is too much matter to make excuse; my sorrow will, at least, render me an object of every good man's pity and commiseration. But, for myself, I bless God, I have observed and felt so much mercy in this angry dispensation of God, that I am almost transported, I am sure highly pleased with thinking how infinitely sweet his mercies are when his judgments are so gracious. Sir, there are many particulars in your letter which I would faine have answered; but, still, my little sadnesses intervene, and will

yet suffer me to write nothing else; but I beg your prayers, and that you will still own me to be,

"Deare and honoured Sir,

"Your very affectionate friend, and

"hearty servant,

"JER. TAYLOR."

"February 22, 1656-7."

The children mentioned in this letter are clearly distinct from that whose death was noticed a little before. Taylor's assertion that he had but one son left, cannot be reconciled with Lady Wray's statement that she had two uncles, surviving sons of Bishop Taylor. We must, however, observe, that as both statements are made on unquestionable authority, but one inference remains and we see no reason to reject it: Taylor's second wife still living must have brought him other children. Nor is there any difficulty against this consideration to be drawn from any general statement of the whole number of his children; for there is nothing more liable to inaccuracy than such statements. There is indeed some force in Heber's conjecture, that the two sons of his first marriage were at the time separated from him; but this, he justly observes, is inconsistent with the assertion in the above letter, that he had then but one son left. This expression might, indeed, be no more than a strong phrase to signify that his parental affections were so far bereaved of their hope and consolation: such a figure is not infrequent in common phrase, it is the language of strong feeling, and is not measured by the critical square; *De non apparentibus et non existentibus*, &c., is no uncommon illusion of deep grief, that refuses to travel far for consolation. Heber observes that "it is strange whichever hypothesis we adopt, that he does not say any thing of his daughters." We think the conjecture here made would account for the omission; they had not yet been born. One thing on the whole is plain, Taylor was not in the habit of allusion to the individuals of his family: it was not the style of his letters; and as there can be no other authority of any great certainty, in his unsettled life, we are at liberty to make any supposition most consistent with the few authorized facts.

After the deprivation here mentioned, all authorities, together with the traditions still surviving in South Wales, agree that Taylor left his residence in Golden Grove and went to London, where he "officiated in a small and private congregation of episcopalians:" according to Wood, the charge would seem to have been of a permanent nature, but Heber seems to us to make the contrary appear more likely. The following entries of Evelyn mark the time of his stay in London.

"25th March, 1657. Dr Taylor showed me his MSS. of Cases of Conscience, or *Ductor dubitantia*, now fitted for the presse.

"7th June. My fourth son was born, christened George after my grandfather; Dr Jer. Taylor officiating in the drawing-room.

"July 16th. On Dr Jer. Taylor's recommendation, I went to Eltham to help one Moody, a young man, to that living by my interest with the patron."

From the cessation of such entries, there is strong reason to infer that Taylor's visit was limited to the period they mark. Within this period the two following letters were written. The first relates to an act of great and well directed generosity of Evelyn's, who at this time relieved Taylor from his severe and pressing embarrassments by an annual pension.

To John Evelyn, Esq.

"Honoured and Deare Sir,

"A stranger came two nights since from you with a letter, and a token—full of humanity and sweetness that was, and this of charity. I know it is more blessed to give than to receive: and yet, as I no ways repine at the providence that forces me to receive, so neither can I envy that felicity of yours, not onely that you can, but that you doe give; and as I rejoyce in that mercy which daily makes decree in heaven for my support and comfort, soe I doe most thankfully adore the goodness of God to you, whom he consigns to greater glories by the ministries of these graces. But, Sir, what am I, or what can I doe, or what have I done, that you thinke I have or can oblige you? Sir, you are too kinde to mee, and oblige mee not onely beyond my merit, but beyond my modesty. I onely can love you and honour you, and pray for you; and in all this I cannot say but that I am behind hand with you, for I have found so great effluxes of all your worthinesse and charities, that I am a debtor for your prayers, for the comfort of your letters, for the charity of your hand, and the affections of your heart. Sir, though you are beyond the reach of my returnes, and my services are very short of touching you, yet if it were possible for me to receive any commands, the obeying of which might signify my great regards of you, I could with some more confidence converse with a person so obliging; but I am obliged and ashamed, and unable to say so much as I should doe to represent myself to be,

"Honoured and Deare Sir,

"Your most affectionate and obliged

"Friend and servant,

"JER. TAYLOR."

The request contained in the following letter, relates to the christening of Evelyn's son. Taylor was at the time engaged on his Essay on Friendship, to which he here alludes. This essay was dedicated to a Mrs Katharine Philips, a woman of letters, whom Heber conjectures to have written the already mentioned essay on "Artificial Handsomeness." This lady, a friend, and, probably enough, an imitator of Taylor, was the wife of a gentleman in Cardiganshire. She had the common and not very high talent of stringing verses with fluency and ease: and having the advantages of person, manner, and fortune, obtained that degree of admiration which these advantages are sure to obtain for moderate talents. In that age of patronage and literary adulation, such a character was certain to find flattering records. In any age,

however, says Heber, "She would have been a 'blue stocking' of distinguished celebrity." And this is now at least, no small praise.

To John Evelyn, Esq.

"Honoured and Deare Sir,

"Your messenger prevented mine but an heure. But, I am much pleased at the repetition of the divine favour to you in like instances; that God hath given you another testimony of his love to your person, and care of your family; it is an engagement to you of new degrees of duty, which you cannot but superadde to the former, because the principle is genuine and prolific, and all the emanations of grace are univocal and alike. Sir, your kind letter hath so abundantly rewarded and crowned my innocent endeavours in my descriptions of friendship, that I perceive there is a friendship beyond what I have fancied, and a real material worthinesse beyond the heights of the most perfect ideas: and I know now where to make my booke perfect, and by an appendix to outdoe my first essay; for when any thing shall be observed to be wanting in my character I can tell them where to seek the substance, more beauteous than the picture; and by sending the readers of my booke to be spectators of your life and worthinesse, they shall see what I would faine have taught them, by what you really are. Sir, I shall, by the grace of God, wait upon you to-morrow, and doe the office you require; and shall hope that your little one may receive blessings according to the heartinesse of the prayers which I shall then, and after, make for him: that then also, I shall wayte upon your worthy brothers; I see it is a designe both of your kindnesse and of the divine providence.

"Sir, I am,

"Your most affectionate and most faithful

"Friend and servant,

"JER. TAYLOR."

June 9th, 1657.

The following letter is not merely interesting from the characteristic style, and the intellectual vigour which it displays: it is also curious as a specimen and illustration of the manner in which the old scholastic philosophy still remained diffused in the mind of the day. And also of the loose assumptions and opinions, on which the acutest understandings could rest, as the grounds of argument. A subject not yet unhappily without its advantages and far from being fully cleared. Evelyn's study of Lucretius seems to have unsettled his belief in the immortality of the soul, and suggested some troublesome doubts on the divine Being. Taylor attempts to dissipate these errors.

To John Evelyn, Esq.

"Sir,

"I am very glad that your good nature hath overcome your modesty, and that you have suffered yourself to be persuaded to benefit

the world rather than humour your owne retirednesse. I have many reasons to encourage you, and the onely one objection which is the leaven of your author 'de providentia,' you have so well answered, that I am confident, in imitation of your great master you will bring good out of evil: and like those wise physicians, who, giving alexipharmics, doe not onely expell the poyson, but strengthen the stomach, I doubt not but you will take all opportunities, and give all advantages, to the reputation and great name of God; and will be glad and rejoyce to employ your pen for him who gave you fingers to write, and will [*quere witt?*] to dictate.

"But, Sir, that which you check at is the immortality of the soul: that is, its being in the interval before the day of judgment; which you conceive is not agreeable to the apostles' creed, or current of Scriptures, assigning (as you suppose) the felicity of Christians to the resurrection. Before I speake to the thing I must note this, that the parts which you oppose to each other, may both be true. For the soule may be immortal and yet not beatified till the resurrection. For to be, and to be happy or miserable, are not immediate or necessary consequences to each other. For the soul may be alive, and yet not feelee; as it may be alive and not understand; so our soule, when we are fast asleepe, and so Nebuchadnezzar's soule, when he had his lycanthrophy. And the socinians, that say the soule sleepes, doe not suppose that she is mortal; but, for want of her instrument, cannot doe any acts of life. The soule returnes to God, and that in no sense is death. And I thinke the death of the soule cannot be defined; and there is no death to spirits but annihilation. I am sure there is none that we know of or can understand. For, if ceasing from its operations be death, then it dies sooner than the body; for, oftentimes it does not worke any of its nobler operations. In our sleepe we neither feelee nor understand. If you answer and say it animates the body, and that is a sufficient indication of its life; I reply that, if one act alone is sufficient to show the soule to be alive, then the soule cannot die; for in philosophy it is affirmed that the soule desires to be re-united; and that which is dead desires not; besides that the soule can understand without the body is so certaine (if there be any certainty in mystic theology,) and so evident in actions which are reflected upon themselves, as a desire to desire, a will to will, a remembering that I did remember; that, if one act be enough to prove the soul to be alive the state of separation cannot be a state of death to the soule; because, she then can desire to be re-united, and she can understand: for nothing can hinder from doing those actions which depend not upon the body, and in which the operations of the soule are not organical.

"But to the thing. That the felicity of Christians is not till the day of judgment I doe believe next to an article of my creed; and so far I consent with you; but, then, I cannot allow your consequent; that the soule is mortal. That the soule is a complete (*quere complex*) substance I am willing enough to allow in disputation; though, indeed, I believe the contrary; but I am sure no philosophy and no divinity can prove its being wholly relative and incomplete. But suppose it: it will not follow that, therefore, it can live in separation. For, the flame of a candle, which is your owne similitude, will give light enough to this

inquiry. The flame of a candle can consist or subsist, though the matter be extinct. I will not instance Licetus his lampes whose flame had stood still 1500 years, viz., in Tullie's wife's vault. For, if it had spent any matter, the matter would have been exhaust long before that: if it spends none, it is all one as if it had none; for what need is there of it, if there be no use for it, and what use if not feeding the flame, and how can it feed but by spending itself? But the reason why the flame goes out when the matter is exhaust, is because that little particle of fire is soone overcome by the circumflant aire and scattered, when it wants matter to keepe it in union and closeness: but then, as the flame continues not in the relation of a candle's flame, when the matter is exhaust, yet fire can abide without matter to feed it, for itselfe is matter; it is a substance: and so is the soule. And as the element of fire, and the celestial globes of fire, eat nothing, but live of themselves; so can the soule when it is divested of its relative, and so would the candle's flame, if it could get to the regions of fire, as the soul does to the region of spirits.

"The places of Scripture you are pleased to urge, I shall reserve for our meeting, or another letter; for they require particular scrutiny. But one thing only, because the answer is short, I shall reply to—why the apostle, preaching Jesus and the resurrection, said nothing of the immortality of the soule. I answer, because the resurrection of the body included and supposed that. Second: And if it had not, yet what need he preach that to them which in Athens was believed by all their schooles of learning? For besides that the immortality of the soule was believed by the Gymnosophists in India, by Trismegist in Egypt, by Job in Chaldea, by his friends in the East, it was also confessed by Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, Thales Milesius, and by Aristotle, as I am sure I can prove. I say nothing of Cicero, and all the Latins; and nothing of all the Christian schooles of philosophy that ever were. But when you see it in Scripture, I know you will in no way refuse it. To this purpose are those words of St Paul, speaking of his rapture into heaven. He purposely, and by design, twice says, 'whether in the body, or out of the body, I know not;' by which he plainly says, that it was no wayes unlikely that his rapture was out of the body; and therefore it is very agreeable to the nature of the soule to operate in separation from the body.

"Sir, for your other question, how it appears that God made all things out of nothing, I answer, it is demonstratively certaine, or else there is no God. For if there be a God, he is the one principle; but if he did not make the first thing, then there is something besides him that was never made; and then there are two eternals. Now, if God made the first thing, he made it of nothing. But, Sir, if I may have the honour to see your annotations before you publish them, I will give all the faithful and most friendly assistances that are in the power of,

"Deare Sir,

"Your most obliged and affectionate servant,

"JER. TAYLOR."

This letter must lead many thinking readers to reflect upon subjects which never lose their interest to those who are capable of reflection,

for they seem more nearly to concern human happiness than any other topics of mere speculation; and as they have been placed less within the scope of our faculties than most subjects of human inquiry, so they have led to more various and important errors—errors which have become largely, and we fear inextricably, diffused in the whole texture of men's reasonings; not merely raising erroneous systems of philosophy, but casting also clouds of confusion and mistake upon the light of those divine communications, which had indeed been far less needful than they are allowed to be, had we by nature the power effectually to investigate the spiritual being of God and man; or, what is perhaps more correct to say, had we within our field of observation *any data whatever* for such investigations. We believe that the strong instinctive curiosity which always leads to such questions, may, if referred to its final cause, be considered as one of the remaining indications of that great original destination which Scripture unfolds; and it is perhaps another, that it has been one of the most fertile sources of our wanderings from divine truth: thus indicating the perversion of reason attendant on the departure from God. Heber has strongly and elaborately commented on the errors incidental to Taylor's period. We would gladly extend the argument much farther, could it be done in the compass of a paragraph. It is easy to dismiss exploded errors, but it would demand more than a volume to purge the philosophy and theology of these times from the tenacious and pervading growth of speculative error. The slightest infringement upon received notions is unsafe. The dogmatism of learning is not more peremptory in the vindication of established notions, than decisive and curt in the rejection of new opinions. This is, we know, a saving principle: but popular error is preserved by the same means as truth; even the infidel will exclaim at an attempt to demolish any of the foundations of the baseless fabric of that nugatory religion, which he only sets up to escape any better. It would be imprudent here to point out and expose the imaginary first principles on which divines and philosophers have woven webs of subtlety, sometimes for the defence of truths which required no such aid, and sometimes, with not less effect, for the demolition of those truths.

On the immortality of the soul, it is curious to observe how readily some of the ablest (certainly subtlest) reasoners have recourse to a consideration, of all others farthest away from the scope of probable reasoning—namely, its substance; as if in reality anything of its substance, or of any substance, could be in any way ascertained; and thus have one class of supererogatory demonstrators of truth set it up upon shadowy supports, for its enemies to demolish. The principal proof of the soul's immortality is, the fact that it is involved in the authenticated revelation of God's purposes. Another proof of great value is to be derived from the consideration of final causes, founded on a spacious and unbroken *analogy*, which, looking through the entire system of known things, uniformly sees that *purpose* is uniformly indicated by *adaptation*. We do not here advert to those faculties and functions which are the needful adaptations for the moral and political system of human being; for though we quite concur in thinking every fact that can elevate the nature of man valid in corroboration of proof, and therefore fit to be added when the subject is treated *in extenso*, yet we cannot consider

any adaptation, of which the *present purpose* is obvious, to amount to a direct proof of any further purpose. But every reader is aware of the common and true facts, so frequently dwelt on by the preachers and poets, from which they make it appear that man alone, of all known beings, lives and acts least in unison with the higher faculties and endowments of his moral and intellectual being, having several high moral capabilities which find no answerable purpose in our known state. These are mostly familiar; but we may here instance the *religious sentiment* so common to mankind, the susceptibility of *spiritual desires and fears*, and our deep anxiety about the future, as constituting an adaptation, from which a strict regard to the law of analogy must infer a certain degree of probability in favour of a further purpose. When indeed the point is proved by revealed religion, or rendered highly probable by analogy, everything we know of man, or observe in human life, becomes strong corroboration; for in truth the immortality of the soul, like any fundamental truth, is essential to the just understanding of the whole. And thus the great moral argument arises: deny the immortal being, and the entire moral order presents a confused and disordered state of things; admit it, and all can be explained. And this is an argument of exceeding force, and indeed beauty, when stated at length. On this the christian may supply the true comment upon all the magnificent descriptions of the heathen. *Non quum tanta celeritas animorum sit, tanta memoria preteritorum, futurorumque prudentia, tot artes, tantæ scientiæ, tot inventa; non posse eam naturam quæ res eas contineat esse mortalem.* It is indeed, whatever may be the value (in reason) of the fact, difficult to reflect upon the vast and seemingly unbounded scope of thought—the multitude of things, comprehending past, present, and future, which lie together within its grasp—and the still wide, and apparently infinite, expanse of possibilities and combinations, which expand like an unexplored deep on all directions of its range;—to think of the mind otherwise than as an immortal soul—a *body* celestial, which the chemist cannot reduce to its elements, or trace to its ulterior form. *Animus autem solus, nec quum adest, nec quum discedit, apparet.*

We cannot now wait to offer many reflections which the second topic of Taylor's letter has strongly suggested; but we have much less hesitation in incurring the risk attendant on that brevity which we are compelled to maintain, as we have far less fear of offending the prejudices of mere speculative theosophists; having always felt a deep conviction of the mischief, as well as the absurdity, of those wholly unwarranted assumptions by which they have attempted to measure the divine nature, and trace the being, attributes, and purposes of God, with far more pretence of demonstrative certainty than would bear the test of being applied to anything really within their sphere of observation. Of God, nothing can be known beyond the scope of his explicit revelation, with the exception of some very general conclusions to be drawn from the moral and physical structure of the very small speck of a creation, which may comprehend infinity. These latter, though conclusive as to the fact of an all-wise and powerful intelligence, can, *per se*, lead no further than conjectures as to the nature and specific attributes of the Creator. From this the reader will un-

derstand how little weight we allow to the imaginary demonstrations of the *a priori* school, of whose fundamental assumptions we think it no wrong to say that they are wholly unwarranted. To prove this, we should say more than our space admits of. When, however, we suppose God known in the *only one way* by which he can be known to *human* intelligence, then indeed much and valuable inference may be derived, by a sane and rightly disciplined intellect, to confirm, enlarge, and throw collateral light upon our knowledge. Such, in fact, is the nature of the argument suggested by St Paul in the beginning of his argument to prove the universality of man's condemnation (Rom. i. 18—21). Yet even of this method of inference it must be observed, that it demands more caution than is always met in the theologian's page; for the scope of revelation itself is variously limited; referring as it does to that minute province of an infinite system, which relates to man, and to the actual state of man; nor can anything be radically comprehended beyond this immediate relation, without taking into calculation a wide range of absolutely unknown things, and incomprehensible principles.

Looking within our own narrow limits, we have instances enough to illustrate this reflection. We have before us the wretched abortions of our most reputed philosophers in their efforts to explain the intellectual powers of man. Hardly successful in the precise observation of their facts, all their attempts at systematic views, from Locke (the least absurd, because the least presumptuous,) to Brown and Kant, present little else than a crude mass of inconsistencies and presumptuous assumptions; and it is unlikely that the same order of intelligence should be more successful in an infinitely more profound investigation of the same kind. Evelyn's question, as to the proof that God created all things out of nothing, may seem to those readers who are not conversant with this branch of speculation, hardly to demand these sweeping strictures. To one who has toiled through Clarke and other writers of metaphysical divinity, the provocation at least will seem to ask far more. On the question itself, we so wholly agree with Bishop Heber, that we shall extract his comment as it stands. "The argument by which he attempts to prove that God created all things out of nothing, is tainted in some degree with the fault which I have already noticed, of reasoning from propositions as if they were axioms. He assumes it as a necessary definition of God, that he is the one principle of all things, the only Eternal. He then argues justly, that, if there were anything that God did not make, there would be more eternals than one; and concludes, that, in such case, neither of those eternals could be God. Surely this is running on too fast." It is indeed unnecessary to expose the wretchedness of such fallacies, further than by a simple statement. The principle is an assumption, and the inference does not follow. There is no ground for the assumption that any number of things *could not in possibility* co-exist with God through all eternity. Such an assumption is only to be maintained by the consequences which the postulant attaches to it, and these, as *inferences*, are demonstrably false. It does not follow that any species of imaginable co-existence, of which the effect cannot be specifically traced, can affect the independence of an eternal intelligence and power. The notions of first cause, self-existence, of the impossibility of certain conceptions, &c., of which Dr Clarke makes

such powerful use, are mere verbal quibbles, founded on human ignorance, and therefore hard to answer. Indeed it is curious to observe that, in point of fact, the greater part of his argument turns on the extent and powers of the human faculties. The Doctor was misled by his illustrations. His example of self-existence was *pure space*. Of infinity and eternity he talks as *modes* and *attributes*, and reasons of them as things having properties and definitions, and as if they were capable of being made the data from which any inference can be drawn, other than those of number and dimension. Indeed, his main argument against the possible co-existence of God and matter from all eternity—viz., that “it is an express contradiction that two different beings should be necessarily existing”—will, if duly followed up, demolish the greater part of his previous reasoning in the same book; for he proves space to be a thing, and necessarily existent, according to his own definition. We have allowed our pen to be carried too far on this point; and as it is indeed endless, we must extricate ourselves abruptly. We have long wished to follow out the whole argument at length, for the purpose of converting Clarke’s ingenious and profound book to its proper use—the demonstration which it affords of the utter incapacity of human reason, and the inadequacy of human language, to such investigations. Men, like Clarke, may arrive at conclusions which cast a spurious and superfluous gleam upon the truth, which God has thought proper to show as “in a glass, darkly;” but the same materials may be transformed to any set of data, and lead to any inferences, in the legerdmain of mere language. Enough will ever be found to convert them to uses more in conformity with the bias of human nature to deny or deprave the being and character of God.

The opinion of Taylor, that “the felicity of christians is not till the day of judgment,” is open to much consideration: but the length to which we have been led by this letter, forbids our entering upon it here. The existence of some intermediate state we are inclined to conjecture: of the nature of this we think inquiry vain. Our only source of information is not explicit; and our inference is, that certainty was not intended to be given. To the reader, who would reflect on the subject, we may suggest, that the subject seems to have been discussed by St Paul, in a manner which precludes the notion that he would have omitted a point of such prominence, had it been within his reach: the 23d verse of 1 Cor. xv. seems to bear strongly on the question, and the entire of the same chapter may be recommended as offering as much light, as it is likely, man, in his present state, is capable of receiving, and more than any effort of reason can possibly obtain. The light of revelation is of course confined to its intent, to enlighten our present state, and convey that information, which is necessary and sufficient to guide fallen creatures on the narrow way that leads to another and higher state: in the diligent study of these communications, it is necessary, for evident reasons, that many indirect and incidental intimations should be conveyed; such is the condition of a scheme but partially made known; but before these incidental gleams can be fully interpreted, more must be seen. It is, indeed, antecedently improbable that any information as to our future state which God has thought proper to withhold, should be reasoned out, on the

defective and indirect hints we can find in the holy Scriptures, yet these afford the sole data from which we can hope to reason with any degree of assurance.

The controversy on original sin still continued to be a source of vexation to Taylor. The clergy of the church of England were content with protesting against doctrines opposed to their articles and formularies: recognising the value of Taylor, they did not consider it either prudent or necessary to repel, wound, and force him out of the ranks by an unseasonable controversy. Having justly, perhaps, estimated the weight of his authority on such a point, they went no further than seemed desirable for the purpose of leading him out of the error into which he had strayed. But there were those from whom considerations of this nature were not called for; the protestants of other churches felt it right and expedient to oppose fallacious views so recommended by the eloquence and reputation of the author. Of the opponents who gave him most trouble, the chief were two presbyterian clergymen, Henry Jeanes of Chidzoy in Somersetshire, and John Gaule of Slaughtonshire, in Huntingdonshire.

Of the controversy which thus arose between Taylor and Jeanes, we have the following account, which Heber quotes from the "advertisement to the unprejudiced reader," prefixed by Jeanes to his letter:—"One Mr T. C. (Thomas Cartwright) of Bridgewater, being at my house, broke out into extraordinary (that I say not excessive and hyperbolical) praises of Dr Jeremy Taylor. I expressed my concurrence with him in great part; nay, I came nothing behind him in just commendations of his admirable wit, great parts, quick and elegant pen, his abilities in critical learning, and his profound skill in antiquity; but notwithstanding all this, I professed my dissent from some of his opinions which I judged to be erroneous; and I instanced in his 'doctrine of original sin.' Now his 'further explication' of this lay casually in the window (as I take it), which hereupon I took up, and turned to the passage now under debate, and showed unto Mr T. C. that therein was gross nonsense and blasphemy. He, for his own part, with a great deal of modesty, forthwith declined all further dispute of the business; but withal, he told me that he would, if I so pleased, give Doctor Taylor notice of what I said, whereunto I agreed, and in a short time he brought me from the doctor a fair and civil invitation to send him my exceptions, and with it a promise of a candid reception of them, whereupon I drew them up in a letter to Mr T. C., the copy whereof followeth."

The controversy thus begun, went on; and as often occurs, deepened in its progress in interest and animosity. "Each," says Heber, "began as is usual in such cases, to lose their temper at the second replication. Each accused the other of unfairness and intemperance, and I regret to say, that of the two, Jeremy Taylor was the most capacious and personal. Yet he had some reason to complain that his opponent's whole weight was directed, not against the general principle of his book, but against a detached and general expression; and that his apparent end was not so much to refute the pelagianism of Taylor, as to derogate from his reputation, in the mind of one of his friends and admirers."

The same year Taylor reprinted several of his earlier works, then out of print, in folio: he also published his *Συμῶλον Ηθικοπολεμικόν*. At the same time also appeared the "Discourse of Friendship," which we have had already occasion to mention. He now also is said to have shown Evelyn his "Ductor Dubitantium," which remained under his hands for many following years. It was the work, of all he had written, to which, having probably expended upon it most intellectual labour, he therefore by a natural error of the mind, attached the highest importance. He was therefore also proportionally timid and dilatory in its completion. Some have thought this work to form the substance of a course of sermons which he had preached at Up-tingham; but it is justly observed by Mr Bonney, that the style was totally unsuited to the pulpit. On the "Essay of Friendship," it is said to be apparent, from the postscript, that it was not designed for publication, but for the perusal of his private friends. "If you shall think fit," he writes, "that these papers pass further than your own eye and closet, I desire they may be consigned to the hands of my worthy friend doctor Wedderburne, for I do not only expose all my sickness to his cure, but submit my weakness to his censure, being as confident to find of him charity for what is pardonable, as a remedy for what is curable: but indeed, madam, [the papers are dedicated to Mrs Philips already mentioned,] I look upon that worthy man as an *idea* of friendship, and if I had no other notices of friendship or conversation to instruct me than his, it were sufficient: for whatever I can say of friendship, I can say of his, and as all that know him reckon him amongst the best physicians, so I know him worthy to be reckoned amongst the best friends."

In February, 1658, we find him in London; but so uncertain are all traces of detail at this period of his life, that all we can tell the reader is, that he was again a prisoner, and in the Tower. The indiscretion of Royston had ventured so far as to offend the known prejudices of the uppermost party, by prefixing a print of Christ in the attitude of prayer, to his "collection of offices." A recent act of Cromwell's parliament had prohibited representations of this nature as scandalous and idolatrous. He seems, however, to have been soon released by the strong representations of Evelyn in his favour. The following letter was probably written from the Tower, on the occasion of the death of two of his patron's sons:—

To John Evelyn, Esq.

"DEARE SIR,

"If dividing and sharing griefes were like the cutting of rivers, I dare say to you, you would find your streame much abated; for I account myself to have a great cause of sorrow, not onely in the diminution of the numbers of your joys and hopes, but in the losse of that pretty person your strangely hopeful boy. I cannot tell all my owne sorrows without adding to yours; and the causes of my real sadnesse in your loss are so just and reasonable, that I can no otherwise comfort you but by telling you, that you have great cause to mourne; so certaine it is that grieffe does propagate as fire does. You have enkindled my funeral torch, and by joining mine to yours, I doe

but encrease the flame. "Hoc me male urit," is the best signification of my apprehension of your sad story. But, Sir, I cannot choose, but I must hold another and brighter flame to you, it is already burning in your heart; and if I can but remove the darke side of the lanthorne, you have enoughe within you to warm yourselfe, and to shine to others. Remember, Sir, your two boyes are two bright starres, and their innocence is secured, and you shall never hear evil of them agayne. Their state is safe, and heaven is given to them upon very easy termes: nothing but to be borne and die. It will cost you more trouble to get where they are; and amongst other things one of the hardnessees will be, that you must overcome even this just and reasonable griefe; and, indeed, though the griefe hath but too reasonable a cause, yet it is much more reasonable that you master it. For besides they are no loosers, but you are the person that complaines, doe but consider what you would have suffered for their interest: you (would) have suffered them to goe from you, to be great princes in a strange country; and if you can be content to suffer your own inconvenience for their interest, you command (commend?) your worthiest love, and the mourning is at an end. But you have said and done well, when you looke upon it as a rod of God, and he that smites here will spare hereafter; and if you by patience and submission imprint the discipline upon your own flesh, you kill the cause, and make the effect very tolerable: because it is in some sense chosen, and therefore in no sense insufferable. Sir, if you doe not looke to it, time will snatch your honour from you, and reproach you for not effecting that by christian philosophy which time will doe alone. And if you consider, that of the bravest men in the world we find the seldomest stories of their children; and the apostles had none, and the thousands of the worthiest persons, that sound most in story, died childlesse; you will find it a rare act of Providence so to impose upon worthy men a necessity of perpetuating their names by worthy actions and discourses, governments and reasonings. If the breach be never repaired, it is because God does not see it fit to be; and if you be of his mind, it will be much the better. But, Sir, you will pardon my zeale and passion for your comfort; I will readily confesse that you have no need of any discourse from me to comfort you. Sir, now you have an opportunity of serving God by passive graces; strive to be an example and a comfort to your lady, and by your wise counsel and comfort, stand in the breaches of your own family, and make it appear that you are to her more than ten sons. Sir, by the assistance of Almighty God, I purpose to wait on you some time next weeke, that I may be a witnesse of your christian courage and bravery; and that I may see, that God never displeases you as long as the main stake is preserved, I mean your hopes and confidence of heaven. Sir, I shall pray for all that you can want; that is, some degrees of comfort and a present mind, and shall alwayes doe you honour, and fain also would doe you service, if it were in the power, as it is in the affections and desires of,

"Dear Sir,

"Your most affectionate and obliged
"friend and servant,

"JEREMY TAYLOR."

"February 17, 1657-8."





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